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CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI

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AN EDITION FOR SCHOOLS,

BY

CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D.
LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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A.U. 659.	L. Licinius Crassus.
B.C. 95.	Q. Mucius Scævola.

A.U. 660.	C. Cælius Caldus.
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B.C. 93.	M. Herennius.
A.U. 662.	C. Claudius Pulcher.
B.C. 92.	M. Perperna.
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B.C. 91.	Sex. Julius Cæsar.
A.U. 664.	L. Julius Cæsar.
B.C. 90.	P. Rutilius Lupus.
A.U. 665.	Cn. Pompeius Strabo.
B.C. 89.	L. Porcius Cato.
A.U. 666.	L. Cornelius Sulla.
B.C. 88.	Q. Pompeius Rufus.
A.U. 667.	Cn. Octavius
B.C. 87.	L. Cornelius Cinna.
A.U. 668.	L. Cornelius Cinna II.
B.C. 86.	C. Marius VII. (L. Valerius Flaccus II. *suffect.*)
A.U. 669.	L. Cornelius Cinna III.
B.C. 85.	Cn. Papirius Carbo.
A.U. 670.	Cn. Papirius Carbo II.
B.C. 84.	L. Cornelius Cinna IV.
A.U. 671.	L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.
B.C. 83.	C. Norbanus Balbus.
A.U. 672.	C. Marius, C. f.
B.C. 82.	Cn. Papirius Carbo III.
	L. Cornelius Sulla, Dictator.
A.U. 673.	M. Tullius Decula.
B.C. 81.	Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
	L. Cornelius Sulla, Dictator.
A.U. 674.	L. Cornelius Sulla II.
B.C. 80.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
A.U. 675.	P. Servilius Vatia.
B.C. 79.	Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

A.U. 676. B.C. 78.	M. Æmilius Lepidus. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
A.U. 677. B.C. 77.	D. Junius Brutus. Mam. Æmilius Lepidus.
A.U. 678. B.C. 76.	Cn. Octavius. C. Scribonius Curio.
A.U. 679. B.C. 75.	L. Octavius. C. Aurelius Cotta.
A.U. 680. B.C. 74.	L. Licinius Lucullus. M. Aurelius Cotta.
A.U. 681. B.C. 73.	M. Terentius Varro. C. Cassius Varus.
A.U. 682. B.C. 72.	L. Gellius Publicola. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.
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A.U. 689. B.C. 65.	L. Aurelius Cotta. L. Manlius Torquatus.
A.U. 690. B.C. 64.	L. Julius Cæsar. C. Marcius Figulus.
A.U. 691. B.C. 63.	M. Tullius Cicero. C. Antonius.

INTRODUCTION.

Caius Sallustius Crispus was born at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, A.U. 668, B.C. 86, being nine years younger than Cato, fourteen younger than Cæsar, and twenty younger than Cicero. His family was Plebeian. We do not hear that any of the name obtained public distinction before the historian himself, who became Quæstor about the year B.C. 59, and tribune of the Plebs in 52. Little dependence can be placed on the *Declamatio in Sallustium*, a piece which is founded perhaps on the invective against him by Lenæus, a freedman of Pompeius; but according to the constant tradition of Roman antiquity, Sallust was, as there asserted, a dissipated man and a profligate politician, who attached himself to the popular party, and sought the offices of the state in succession, in order to finish his career with the enjoyment of a lucrative province, and the means of accumulating a large fortune. He was an active promoter of the prosecution of Milo for the murder of Clodius, B.C. 52, and thus perhaps ingratiated himself with the most factious of the parties in the city. The share he took in this business may have been partly owing to the chastisement he is said to have received from Milo, for the seduction of his wife. (Varro, quoted by Gellius, xvii. 18). In the year 50, at a moment when the spirits of the senatorial party were unusually elated, Censors were appointed, the first after a long interval, and the list of the senate was purged of many of the opposite faction upon the plea of scandalous life, or other personal

disqualifications. Among the sufferers was Sallust, and his intrigue with Milo's wife has been alleged as the cause assigned. It is hardly probable however that such a cause could have been put forth at a time when profligacy was so common among the ranks of the nobility, still less that it could have been the real motive for his expulsion. Hereupon, it is affirmed, Sallust repaired to Cæsar's quarters in Gaul, and enrolled himself at once among his warmest partizans. Such is the statement of the author of the *Declamatio*, which however is not in itself of much value. On the contrary, Cicero speaks at a later period of Cæsar pardoning a Sallustius: *etiam Sallustio ignovit:* (*ad Att.* xi. 20), as a captured or converted opponent; and we know of no other Sallustius to whom he is likely to refer. But from this event we may, at all events, more confidently date the bitter hostility to the Roman oligarchy which Sallust displays throughout his writings.

The disgrace he had undergone did not prevent Sallust from succeeding, under Cæsar's supremacy, to the high office of prætor, which he acquired in the year 47, the next after the battle of Pharsalia. This appointment restored him to a place in the Senate. He was employed in the following year in Cæsar's campaign in Africa, against the remnant of the senatorial party under Scipio and Cato. Upon its successful termination, he was left there as governor of the province of Numidia, which, upon the death of its king Juba, was incorporated with the possessions of the republic. It does not appear that he continued in this post beyond the usual term of one year; yet, in that short time, he contrived to amass the vast treasures for which he became afterwards notorious. His countrymen were shocked at the alleged profligacy of his conduct, especially, as we are told, after the vehement indignation he had expressed in

his writings against the corruption and extortion of the Roman nobles. See Dion's *Roman History*, xliii. 9. καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβὼν ἔς τε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε, καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίῳ, λόγῳ μὲν, ἄρχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ, ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐδωροδόκησε πολλὰ καὶ ἥρπασεν· ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι αἰσχύνην αἰσχίστην ὀφλῆσαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπουμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν, οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους. Sallust was even menaced with an impeachment for the spoliation of his province; but it does not appear that he was brought to trial. He returned to Rome and formed the magnificent gardens, know by his name, on the Pincian hill, which became eventually the property of the Emperors, and were a favourite resort of Augustus, Vespasian, Nerva, and other sovereign rulers. The story that he married Terentia, whom Cicero had divorced, is devoid of probability. Sallust lived from henceforth in luxurious retirement, having attained wealth and ease, the main objects of his ambition. He died B.C. 34, three years before the battle of Actium.

Some of the worst reflections upon Sallust's character are derived, as we have seen, from the *Declamatio in Sallustium*, the authenticity of which is at least doubtful. He had spoken disparagingly of Pompeius, calling him a man, *oris probi*, (some read, *improbi*) *animo inverecundo*, and Lenæus, Pompey's freedman, had attacked him furiously in consequence, describing him, among other things, as *nebulonem vitâ scriptisque monstrosum*, with which he coupled a charge of ignorance, affectation, and plagiarism. He is said to have been defended by Asconius Pedianus, who wrote a life of him, in the time of Augustus: but the unfavourable view of his character prevailed. Porcius Latro, a grammarian of the reign of Claudius, repeated the charges against him, and we have seen that Dion believed and pro-

pagated one, at least, of the gravest of them. We can only say that Dion, as is well known, generally inclines to the worst view of every man's character. Impressed with this concurrence of authorities, critics have commonly supposed that the Sallustius, whose profligacy is noticed in the second satire of Horace's first book, is no other than the historian; for which however there is no further ground than the identity of name. Sallust left no descendants of his own, but he had a brother by whom the name was perpetuated; and the Crispus Sallustius to whom Horace addressed the second ode of his second book was the historian's grand-nephew. The allusion there made to the wealth of Libya is the more appropriate, considering their relationship, and the probability that the person addressed inherited the fortune which had been accumulated in that country.

> Latius regnes avidum domando
> Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
> Gadibus jungas, et uterque Pœnus
> Serviat uni.

The extant works of Sallust are two historical pieces, on the conspiracy of Catilina, and the war with Jugurtha. He is believed to have written also a contemporary history of Rome, beginning with the insurrection of Lepidus, B.C. 78, and continued in five books to the year 66. This may have been intended as a continuation of the work of Sisenna on the civil wars of Sulla. See Vell. ii. 9. It has perished with the exception of a few considerable extracts from the speeches it contained, and a large number of detached sentences, collected from a variety of writers, and evincing the great and long-continued popularity of the work. Two extant epistles or harangues addressed to Julius Cæsar, and entitled *Epistolæ de republica ordinanda*, have also been ascribed to Sallust, but their authenticity is very questionable.

The *Catilina*, or *Bellum Catilinarium*, is a history of the conspiracy of Catilina, B.C. 63. It contains in itself no distinct evidence of the date of its composition. Those who affirm on the authority of St Jerome (*in Jovin.* i. p. 52) that the author married Terentia, presume that subsequently to his marriage he would not have alluded to the disgrace of Terentia's sister, the Vestal Virgin whom Catilina was accused of seducing, (see *Catil.* ch. 15). But as both the date and fact of the marriage are quite uncertain, such a presumption can be of little force for determining the period of this composition. Others again contend that Sallust would not have invented a speech for Cæsar, (*Catil.* ch. 51), instead of giving the genuine oration, during Cæsar's actual lifetime, and therefore argue that the work must have been written as late as B.C. 44, the year of Cæsar's death. There can be no force, however, in this argument to those who know the indifference of Sallust, and of the ancients in general, to the authenticity of such rhetorical exercises as the harangues with which they studied to adorn their narratives. On the other hand, we have to set Dion's remark about the inconsistency observed at the time between Sallust's conduct in his province, and the sentiments declared in his writings. Now the *Jugurtha* was certainly written after his provincial administration, in B.C. 46; and we can hardly doubt therefore that Dion refers to the reflexions on the nobility at the beginning of the *Catilina*, which accordingly must have been written at an earlier period. That the *Jugurtha* was written after B.C. 46, may be safely inferred from the author's reference to the Punic books of king Hiempsal, which he consulted for it, or rather which had been explained to him, (see *Jugurtha*, ch. 17), indicating clearly that he was himself on the spot at the time.

The *Catilina* and *Jugurtha* are what are denominated in

modern times Monographies; *i.e.* narratives of a detached series of connected events; nor is it unlikely that the fragments of Sallust's *Histories* belong, in fact, to similar treatises on the war of Lepidus, the war of Spartacus, and possibly the wars of Sulla and Marius. Altogether, these works would have formed a pretty complete history of Roman affairs between the years B.C. 117 and 62. The events belonging to the earlier portion of this series had already been related by Roman writers. Sisenna had composed an account of the wars of Marius and Sulla; personal memoirs had been written by Rutilius Rufus, consul, B.C. 105, by Æmilius Scaurus, by Sulla himself, and by Lucullus. Of Sisenna's work at least the testimony both of Cicero and Sallust leaves us little to regret; and it does not appear that the ancients themselves made much use of those of the distinguished statesmen mentioned above. Sallust therefore is the first Roman historian whose account of these times became generally accepted by his own countrymen as authoritative. He owes this distinction probably quite as much to the charm of his style, as to any presumed authenticity in his narration. Indeed he seems to have been the first of the Roman writers who made style a matter of primary importance. The idea however that he took Thucydides for his model, rests upon the occurrence of a few philosophical reflexions, which seem to be directly imitated from the Greek writer. In the mere form of Sallust's expressions it would be difficult to point out any such resemblances to his supposed master. Seneca speaks correctly of his *amputatæ sententiæ et verba ante exspectatum cadentia.* The charge against him of affecting archaic words was made by his own contemporaries. Lenæus, above spoken of, calls him *priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem.* Another writer, Ateius the grammarian, was supposed to have assisted the historian by collecting antique words for him to interweave with his own language.

I cannot however distinguish any such character in Sallust's extant writings. In the *Catilina* and *Jugurtha* there is not, I believe, a single word used which is not also of frequent occurrence in contemporary and later writers. It is probable indeed that he clung to the old orthography of many words at a time when great innovations in that respect were taking place, and even affected to recur to modes of spelling which were becoming obsolete. Some of the best MSS. continue to present antique forms of many words, and these we may suppose have been faithfully transmitted to us from the original exemplars. But even these fluctuate in their orthography, and in an edition intended for the use of youthful students it seems best to abide by the standard of the best age of Latin literature. Accordingly, in this edition, the nom. and acc. plural of nouns of the third declension are always written with *es*, not *is*: the termination of the superlative with *imus*, not *umus*: *verto* and its derivatives are spelt with *e* not *o*: the abl. and dat. plural of the relative pronoun appears as *queis* not *quis*: the gerundial form is written with *endo* not *undo*; and so on in some other cases. Possibly the principle may be thought to be violated in the retention of the older form *adtineo* for *attineo*, &c.; and also in writing *lubido*, *Sulla*, and perhaps some other words according to the more ancient orthography. The genitives *Senati*, *tumulti*, *fide*, *die*, the dat. *usu*, &c. are retained as belonging not to Sallust's orthography, but to his grammar.

The prevalent notion of the great brevity of Sallust's style, is derived perhaps from the description of Seneca above cited. It has had the effect of inducing the older commentators, and especially Cortius, whose authority was

considered paramount for many generations, to reject as insititious, in innumerable places, the occurrence of the verb substantive after the partic. passive, and to expunge all repetitions of words which seemed superfluous to the sense of a passage, in spite of the concurrent testimony of the MSS. For instance, in one place (*Catil.* 51), the word *lex* occurs three times in one sentence: *Tum lex Porcia aliæque leges paratæ sunt quibus legibus*, etc. But the fact is, that unless we are to suppose that his MSS., many of them very excellent ones, have been corrupted by officious transcribers beyond all others, Sallust is in some respects a writer more than usually redundant. Such in fact is generally the character of authors who write before the maturity of their language: and we may be sure that the affectation of cutting up sentences by the suppression of words which logically belong to them would be the vice of a later age, and foreign to the spirit of an ancient writer, especially of one who rather studied to copy a still remoter antiquity. We may conclude then that the *amputatæ sententiæ* referred to by Seneca, are the author's peculiar turns of thought, which are studiously abrupt and antithetical; the *verba ante exspectatum cadentia* are certain harsh and jerking cadences in the composition, which are evidently prepared with a view to striking effects.

The text of the present edition is formed with due deference to the authority of the MSS. and of the citations of ancient writers. Several of the most disputed passages are quoted by the old Roman grammarians, and their reading of them is of course entitled to careful consideration.

The text given by Gerlach in his last edition, Berlin, 1852, very nearly corresponds, at last, after much fluctuation of opinion, with that of Kritz, Leipsic, 1828—1834, and, with the exceptions indicated above, adopted for the

convenience of the young reader, I shall be found to agree, I believe, in almost every case either with one or the other of these eminent critics. In two or three places I have ventured to omit a gross expression; a course which for my own part I could wish to see more extensively adopted in an age when the reading of Latin is becoming almost as common among women of polished education as in the good old times of Jane Grey and Elizabeth.

The annotations here offered to the student have been principally drawn from the variorum notes of Havercamp's edition, from Gerlach, and from Kritz. Much novelty of illustration is hardly to be expected upon a subject which has been so repeatedly treated, and most of the editors have done little more in this respect than copy from one another. The edition of Kritz however, which is mainly devoted to an examination of the author's grammatical constructions, is distinguished by great originality of research. I have appended his name only to a few of the notes; but my obligation to his learning and acumen are manifold throughout. Some use has also been made of the recent edition by Dietsch, which has only reached me while these sheets were printing.

In the commencement of the *Catilina* Sallust describes in general terms the profligacy of his contemporaries, and particularly of the class of candidates for public office and distinction. The character of the arch conspirator which he proceeds to draw is represented as a natural development of the licentiousness of the times, and the conspiracy itself appears to be the legitimate fruit of the general abandonment of principles, and prostration of public and private virtues. But in order fully to understand it, we must supply a serious omission on the historian's part, and give some account of the state of parties at Rome at the moment of

this frightful explosion. The civil wars of Marius and Sulla had been a contest between the mass of the citizens marshalled by a few ambitious nobles, and headed by a fortunate soldier, and the ruling class of senators and patricians, who maintained with tenacity the exclusive privileges assured to them by an obsolete constitution. Their families had been ennobled by public office, and enriched by public service, and they strove to keep to themselves the exclusive enjoyment of these advantages. This class however had suffered a severe defeat in the admission of the Italians to the Roman franchise, which, after a sanguinary war, though successful in the field, they had been constrained eventually to concede. Marius at the head of the popular party had humbled them by the successive acquisition of no less than seven consulships. They had invoked the aid of their military champion Sulla. A bloody civil war had ensued, with alternate success, and massacres had been perpetrated on both sides. Marius had died, and Sulla had ultimately established the ascendency of the nobles or optimates, and in his dictatorship had imposed upon the nation a series of enactments called from his name *leges Corneliæ*, for curtailing the prerogatives of the inferior orders, and confirming the supremacy of the senate as the ruling body of the state. The office of tribune particularly, the old constitutional safeguard of the Plebs, he had shorn of its principal functions, and he had excluded the knights from presiding along with the senate on the bench of justice. After three years possession of the dictatorship, which had been decreed to him in perpetuity, Sulla abdicated his extraordinary functions, and retired into privacy. Immediately M. Æmilius Lepidus, a factious noble, had raised an insurrection, with the promise of restoring the popular rights, Catulus, his colleague in the consulship, had taken up arms at the bidding of the senate

and optimates, and had succeeded in putting him down. But the senatorial party was never free from the machinations of discontented or ambitious men of its own order, who sought to raise themselves to preeminence by intriguing with the popular faction. M. Licinius Crassus, and Cn. Pompeius, who had recently obtained the surname of Magnus, becoming consuls, B. C. 80, rescinded some of Sulla's measures, and conciliated in some degree the favour of the depressed Marians. When however Pompeius was called away from Rome to combat Mithridates the king of Pontus, the senate was persuaded to concede to him powers of unprecedented extent, the command namely of all the eastern provinces of the empire, for the sake of getting rid of him at the centre of affairs. During his absence rumours were rife of a fearful plot against the commonwealth, in which several men of high family and personal distinction were supposed to be concerned. The danger was believed to be pressing, and to combat it, the senate consented to the election to the consulship of a *new man*, M. Tullius Cicero, influenced partly by its reliance on his talents and activity, but partly, it may be believed, with a view to employ him as its instrument for the bold but hazardous *coup d'état* which it meditated.

The parties into which the Roman people were at this time divided were four: 1. The Senatorial, above described as the ruling class, comprising the greater number of the highest nobility, numbering perhaps an hundred or more great families, and constituting an oligarchy, powerful from its wealth, its long experience of office, and its almost hereditary command of the national armies. Among its leaders were Catulus, Lucullus, Sulpicius, Silanus, Scribonius, Hortensius; and it had recently enlisted as its champions both Cicero and Cato: 2. The popular or Marian party, of whom Cæsar, a connexion both of Marius and of Cinna, was

now the chief, the strength of which lay in the numerous families which had been proscribed and excluded from office by Sulla,—in the favour of the lower classes of the city, and of a large portion of the knights, who were anxious to recover the privileges they had been deprived of, and to acquire more,—in the goodwill of the Italian communities, which had obtained the Roman franchise through the efforts of the leaders of this party at an earlier period,—and generally in the support of the provincials, who looked forward to similar enfranchisement through the liberal policy which it continued to advocate: 3. The moderate aristocracy, who sought to mediate between these parties; some, as Cicero at an earlier period, with a view to strengthen the existing constitution by reforming it, others, as Pompeius and Crassus, in order to make themselves independent of the control of a jealous oligarchy: 4. The discontented and turbulent class, mostly military adventurers, who had been raised to importance in the civil wars, and had lost their consideration upon the re-establishment of peaceful government. Rejected by the ruling oligarchy, they attached to themselves the men of broken fortunes of every order of the state, especially the veterans whom Sulla had planted on confiscated lands throughout Italy, and who had squandered their ill-gotten plunder, and were ready to embark upon any new enterprize to recruit their fortunes. Of this military faction Catilina was the most conspicuous chief. He had been himself one of Sulla's officers, and is said to have made himself notorious even in his youth for rapacity and cruelty. He had killed with his own hand his brother-in-law Q. Cæcilius; he had tortured and slain Marius Gratidianus, a friend and fellow-townsman of Cicero; he is said moreover to have murdered his own brother; nor does Sallust fail to mention other crimes of peculiar atrocity as generally ascribed to him.

Although we learn the story of Catilina's wickedness chiefly from the mouth of his enemies, the popularity he enjoyed among a large class of licentious and dissolute young nobles may serve rather to confirm than to invalidate it. Rome was thronged with men of this character, who shrank from no atrocity in the prospect of plunder or advancement, and were ready to lend all their influence to a leader, however justly infamous, whose abilities might promote their selfish ends. A deeper shade of suspicion, however, has been thrown upon the genuineness of the colours with which Cicero and Sallust have painted the arch conspirator, from the fact of his having been a candidate for the consulship, and therefore we must suppose not altogether unacceptable to a much larger number of honourable citizens. Is it possible, we ask ourselves, that a man generally suspected of aiming at an abolition of debts no less than the subversion of institutions, could have hoped for a preponderance of suffrages among the citizens of any regulated community? In the face however of the concurrent testimony of all our authorities, we cannot doubt the general correctness of the charges against Catilina. Could they have been fairly questioned, we must suppose that Sallust, as a bitter enemy of his adversaries, would not have failed to suggest some extenuation of them. On the whole Sallust's history seems to be written with remarkable fairness. His character of his patron Cæsar exhibits no party bias, and his respect for Cato, the most determined of his opponents, is strongly felt and boldly expressed. He is accused of undervaluing Cicero's merit. It is difficult at least to fasten upon him any charge of overtly disparaging that statesman; though, were we to take Cicero's own account of the affair, or indeed those of some other writers, we should doubtless be disposed to rate the consul's importance at this time much higher than Sal-

lust himself would allow us to understand. This is a point which must always be open to difference of opinion. It is not unreasonable, however, to believe that Cicero's influence has been generally overrated. The nobles had been long aware of the imminence of such an outbreak as that of Catilina: they were secretly well pleased at the opportunity it would give them to take up a bold attitude, and strike a blow, which, while it crushed the military faction, would inspire terror into both the Marians and the moderates. They were glad to use Cicero, as an able and popular man, but one who, as a *new man*, could be easily disowned and discarded if unsuccessful, as their instrument in this measure. Accordingly they helped to raise him to the consulship at the critical moment, to the surprise of all the world, and even of himself, such an elevation having never before been accorded to one of his rank, except to the great military champion Marius. As soon as their object was attained and the outbreak crushed, the nobles suffered Cicero to drop. When Pompeius returned from Asia, and encouraged the impeachment with which Clodius threatened him, for his stretch of the consular prerogative, they drew back from his defence, and he fell without an arm held forth to save him. It then appeared how totally devoid he was of personal influence or substantial power in the state. From that time, though suffered to return from his exile, his part in public affairs was only secondary, and became indeed daily more trivial. During the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompeius he was neglected, his counsel disregarded, and himself almost driven contemptuously from the camp of the oligarchs. Cæsar condescended to solicit his countenance, but received his refusal with the coldest indifference. The conspirators against Cæsar did not care to consult him, and after they had struck their blow were but little elated by

his tardy adhesion. It was not till the liberators, Brutus, Cassius, and the rest, had quitted Rome for the East, till Antonius had taken up arms in the north of Italy, till Octavius had repaired to his legions to watch him, till even the consuls Hirtius and Pansa had marched forth from the city, that Cicero became at last the first man in the senate and the forum For the few months, indeed, next ensuing he continued to take the lead in the domestic affairs of the republic; his influence within that sphere became really effective; he enacted a great part, and crowned his long political life with a glorious ἀριστεία. It is no reflection upon the wisdom and integrity of Cicero's public conduct to point out the inferiority of the position he was allowed to hold among his contemporaries; on the contrary, it may serve to display more fully the contrast between his honourable character and the selfish corruption of his times, that neither his talents nor his genuine patriotism availed to place him on the eminence from whence he could save the state from its conflicting factions. It is due however to Sallust to shew that the secondary place he assigns him is not really below the truth, nor to be ascribed to any unworthy jealousy on the part of the historian.)

The *Jugurtha*, it must be admitted, is a work of far less interest than the *Catilina*. Farther removed himself from the period to which it refers, and with no personal knowledge of the events and characters it brings before us, Sallust in the second of his histories enters into an unequal rivalry with his earlier achievement. Nevertheless there is much life and expression in his portraiture of the times at Rome; the ambition of the nobles and the growing corruption of the people, as there represented, prepare us for the crisis of the civil wars which was soon about to be developed. The early career of Marius and Sulla, their selfish ambition

and personal antagonism, serve as a preface to the records of slaughter and proscription with which their names were to become conspicuously blended. Jugurtha himself, the crafty Numidian, bold and active, with inexhaustible resources and devoid of scruples, combining the subtilty of the Carthaginian with the ferocity of the Moor, is interesting not only on his own account, but as a type of the African character, such as it was afterwards exemplified in Tacfarinas, and recently in Abd-el-kader. The struggle of the serpent and the eagle, so favourite a subject with poets and painters, has been delineated by no historian so vividly as by Sallust.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

CATILINA.

I. OMNES[1] homines, qui sese student[2] præstare ceteris animalibus[3], summa ope niti decet vitam silentio ne transeant[4], veluti pecora, quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia[5], finxit. Sed nostra omnis

[1] *Omnes*. The MSS. generally read *omnis*, and this in the age of Cicero and Sallust, according to the grammarians, was the usual orthography of the nom. and accus. plur. of nouns in *is*, gen. sing. not increasing, gen. plur. in *ium*. Copyists frequently changed the termination to *es*, the later form, for the sake of clearness: in some instances they left *is*, mistaking it perhaps for a nom. or gen. sing. as *Catil.* 18. nonas Decembris, and 31. omnis tristitia invasit. Probably the usage always fluctuated. In this edition the later form in *es* is preserved throughout to obviate any difficulty in construction.

[2] *Sese student*: i.q. simply *student*. This construction is not unusual with verbs of *wishing*, *seeking*, &c. Compare Cic. *de Off.* i. 19. principem se esse mavult quam videri; ii. 20. ille gratum se videri studet; for principes, gratus videri. Corn. Nepos, *in Vit. Eumen.* 8. illa phalanx non parere se ducibus sed imperare postulabat.

[3] *Ceteris animalibus*. Ovid contrasts man with the other animals in similar language: Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram Os homini sublime dedit. *Metam.* i. 84. Compare Persius, *Sat.* ii. 61. O curvæ in terras animæ et cœlestium inanes. Varro. Fabrè compactum animal hominem quis ferat sic pecuatim ire? Seneca. Nemo usque adeo tardus et hebes et demissus in terram est, ut ad divina non erigatur. Juvenal, xv. 147. of animals, prona et terram spectantia.

[4] *Transeant*, "pass through life," we say, "let life pass away," opposed to *agant vitam*, "transact, do the business of life." Seneca, *Epist.* 93. Hoc a me exigo ne velut per tenebras ævum emetiar; ut agam vitam, non ut prætervehar. *De Prov.* 4. Transisti sine adversario vitam. Pers. *Sat.* v. 60. Tum crassos transisse dies, lucemque palustrem, Et sibi jam seri vitam ingemuere relictam.

[5] *Ventri obedientia*. Aurel. Victor, of the Emperor Claudius, ventri fœde obediens: venter, the natural appe-

vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio[1], corporis servitio magis utimur[2]: alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur[3] ingenii[4] quam virium opibus[5] gloriam quærere; et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime[6] longam efficere. Nam divitiarum[7] et formæ gloria fluxa[8] atque fragilis est; virtus clara æternaque habetur[9]. Sed diu magnum inter mortales[10] certamen fuit, vine corporis an

tites. Persius, *Prol. in Sat.* 12. Magister artis ingenique largitor Venter.

[1] *Animi imperio.* The soul is commonly represented as the ruler of the body. Comp. Cic. *de Rep.* iii. Deus homini, animus imperat corpori. Senec. *Nat. Quæst.* vii. 24. habere nos animum cujus imperio et impellimur et revocamur. *Epist.* 114. rex noster est animus. Claudian, iv. *Cons. Hon.* 234. hanc alta capitis fundavit in arce Mandatricem operum prospecturamque labori.

[2] *Utimur : uti* generally in a good sense, to employ to a good purpose, to enjoy the use of. Here the verb belongs strictly to *imperio* only, but governs *servitio* also indirectly by the figure zeugma : i. e. "we enjoy the government of the soul, but suffer the servitude of the body."

[3] *Quo mihi rectius videtur,* "wherefore it seems to me the more right." Comp. eo profusius, c. 14.

[4] *Ingenii.* Varro, contemporary with Sallust, introduced the double *ii* in these genitives. Later writers, imitating ancient spelling, frequently resorted to the single *i*. Hence the MSS. fluctuate. See Spengel on Varro, *de Lingua Lat.* p. 10. In this edition the double *ii* is preserved throughout, as the usual form.

[5] *Opibus* : "resources."

[6] *Maxime.* Cæsar wrote *maximus, optimus.* Quintil. *Inst.* i. 7. Before him they were written *u* for *i*; but not always: *maximos* is found in the inscription of the Duilian column. In this edition the form in *i* is retained.

[7] *Nam divitiarum.* Compare Sallust, *Jugur.* 2. igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis corporis et alia hujusmodi omnia alicui dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Tac. *Agric.* 46.

[8] *Fluxa :* "fleeting," "fading;" *fluidus,* that which fleets or flows naturally; *fluxus,* that which becomes so by corruption or degeneracy, therefore generally of artificial things : but this distinction is not uniformly preserved. Here translate "fading," or "evanescent," as opposed to *clara.* "Beauty fades and decays, virtue shines and endures."

[9] *Habetur,* "is esteemed," implying men's opinion of it.

[10] *Inter mortales;* more emphatic, as being more universal than *homines;* as we say *mankind* for *men.* Comp. A. Gell. xiii. 28.

virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet[1]. Nam et prius, quam incipias, consulto; et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est[2]. Ita utrumque, per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget[3].

II. Igitur initio[4] reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diversi[5], pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum[6] vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii et Athenienses cœpere urbes atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi caussam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare; tum demum periculo atque negotiis[7] compertum est, in

[1] *Procederet,* "advanced, succeeded;" *procedere,* i. q. ex voto evenire. Comp. Liv. i. 57. Ubi id parum processit. ii. 44. velut processisset Sp. Licinio. Of persons, as Terent. *Adelph.* v. 9. 22. processisti hodie pulchre. Plaut. *Trucul.* ii. 6. 35. Tu recte provenisti. Another sense of the word is "to march," "walk in a solemn or measured step." Terent. *Andr.* i. 1. 100. Funus procedit. Lucan, speaking of the conquering progress of the Roman republic, vii. 422. Te geminum Titan procedere vidit in axem. *Incedere* has the same sense. Virg. *Æn.* i. quæ Divum incedo regina.

[2] *Mature facto opus est,* "'Twere well it were done quickly." *Maturus* and *mora* opposed. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 300. Si mora pro culpa est, ego sum maturior illo.

[3] *Alterum alterius auxilio eget:* Horat. Alterius sic Altera poscit opem res. *indigens ... eget.* This tautology has given offence : many editions read *veget,* but without authority. *Indigens* may be taken absolutely, for *mancum, debile;* the redundancy may be compared with Virgil's Lapsa cadunt folia.

[4] *Initio.* Comp. Cic. *de Leg.* iii. omnes antiquæ gentes regibus quondam paruerunt.

[5] *Reges diversi,* i. e. *in contrarium abeuntes,* "taking opposite courses."

[6] *Etiam tum,* "still;" "in those times men still lived without ambition."

[7] *Periculo atque negotiis.* Some explain *periculo* i. q. *experimento, experiendo.* Others explain the phrase by the fig. hendiadys, for *periculosis negotiis.* Rather, *periculo,* "danger :" *negotiis,* "grave and difficult affairs;" therefore, "dangers and troubles."

bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quod si[1] regum atque imperatorum animi virtus[2] in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent; neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile his artibus[3] retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate lubido atque superbia invasere[4], fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines[5] arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti peregrinantes, transegere; quibus profecto contra naturam[6], corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstimo[7], quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero[8] is demum

[1] *Quod si. Quod* is not pronominal (i. q. *propter quod*), but merely marks a transition, "but."

[2] *Animi virtus*, "courage of kings and commanders."

[3] *Artibus*, i. q. *studiis*, "means," "methods," or *moribus*, "dispositions."

[4] *Invasere*, absolute; as *Catil.* 10. *Jugur.* 41. Liv. v. 13. dulcedo invasit plebeios creandi.

[5] *Quæ homines* etc.: scil. *omnia quæ homines faciunt arando, navigando, ædificando*, "men's ploughing, sailing, building," *ex virtute pendent*, "all depend upon the exercise of their energies, moral and physical." Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 94. omnis enim res Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulcris Divitiis parent.

[6] *Contra naturam*, "the reverse of what nature intended."

[7] *Juxta æstimo*, "I value both alike," i.e. "as equally despicable." For *juxta* in the sense of equality, comp. Sallust, *Catil.* 37. 51. 61. *Jugur.* 85, 88.

[8] *Verum enim vero.* More forcible than the simple *verum:* frequent in Livy and Sallust, more rare in Cicero. Ruhnken, *Dictata in Terent. Adelph.* ii. 3. 2. *is demum*, "he of all men." Comp. *Catil.* 20. idem velle atque idem nolle ea domum firma amicitia est.

mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus[1], præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed, in magna copia rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ[2]: etiam bene dicere haud absurdum[3] est. Vel pace, vel bello, clarum fieri licet: et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi[4] laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria[5] sequatur scriptorem et auctorem[6] rerum, tamen in primis arduum[7] videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis sunt exæquanda[8]: dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia et invidia dicta putant: ubi de magna virtute[9] et gloria bonorum memores,

[1] *Aliquo ... intentus*, not "intent upon," which would require the *dat.* but "occupied with," "kept on the stretch by:" the *ablat. modi*, or *instrumenti*. Comp. *scientia confisus*, "satisfied with, encouraged by the consciousness of knowledge:" *pede nixus*, "using the foot as the means or instrument whereby to support oneself."

[2] *Bene facere reip.*, "to act for the advantage of the state." Comp. *Jugur.* 85. Quippe bene facta mea reipublicæ procedunt.

[3] *Haud absurdum*, "no mean thing;" "not unworthy:" *absurdus*, not derived probably from *surdus*. Festus cites a word *sardare*, *intelligere*, from Nævius. So *insulsus* from *salsus*, *insulto* from *salto*.

[4] *Multi.* Placed at the end of the sentence, *emphasis gratia;* "many such, I say."

[5] *Haudquaquam par gloria.* So Cicero *pro Mur.* 9. Dicendum est quod sentio, rei militaris virtus præstat cæteris omnibus.

[6] *Auctorem*, "the doer of deeds," i. q. *actorem.* So Vell. ii. 10, præclari facinoris auctor. Virgil, *Æn.* v. 748. vulneris auctor. But *auctor rerum* frequently i. q. *scriptor rerum.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 30. C. Sallustius rerum Rom. florentissimus auctor: and, Apud auctores rerum reperio.

[7] *Arduum.* So Justin, *in præf.* calls writing history, opus ardui laboris.

[8] *Facta dictis exæquanda.* So Livy, vi. 20. facta dictis æquando: the difficulty consists in writing worthily of noble actions. Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 4. una sed maxima difficultas quod hæc æquare dicendo arduum.

[9] *Ubi de magna virtute*, etc. The

quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit[1]; supra ea[2], veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rempublicam latus sum[3]; ibique mihi adversa multa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium[4]; tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, qua ceteros[5], fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis[6] miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam[7] decrevi[8], non fuit consilium, secordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis[9],

sentiment is directly imitated from Thucyd. ii. 35. (the funeral speech of Pericles): χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν κ.τ.λ.

[1] *Æquo animo accipit*, "acquiesces in."

[2] *Supra ea*, i. e. *quæ quisque supra ea putat*.

[3] *Studio latus sum:* "I applied myself earnestly to public affairs:" *studio* i. q. *amore, cupidine*. Comp. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* iii. 11. ad bellum majore studio quam consilio profectus. So *odio, iracundia, avaritia, ferri*.

[4] *Insolens malarum artium*, "unaccustomed to evil practices."

[5] *Eadem qua ceteros*, etc., "the pursuit of public honours subjected me to the same abuse and envy as the rest of my competitors." *Fama* in the sense of *mala fama*, whence *famosus*, "infamous."

[6] *Ex multis*, "from and after many troubles, &c." Comp. Cic. *pro Arch.* 1. ex gravi morbo recreari, *Brut.* 92. ex consulatu profectus in Galliam. Nepos, *Timol.* 3. ex maximo bello otium conciliavit.

[7] *Habendam: habere ætatem*, "to keep a certain tenor of life." Comp. *Catil.* 51. qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent.

[8] *Decrevi*. Comp. *Jugur.* 4. decrevi procul a republ. agere ætatem.

[9] *Servilibus officiis*, "unworthy employments," fit only for slaves, inasmuch as they occupy the body only, not the mind. The great estates of

intentum ætatem agere: sed, a quo incepto studio me ambitio mala[1] detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim[2], ut quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam[3]: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existimo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam[4].

V. Lucius Catilina[5], nobili genere[6] natus, fuit

the nobles at this time were generally cultivated, and even superintended by slaves.

[1] *Ambitio mala*, i. e. *quæ malum affert*, or, *malos facit*. So Horace, *Sat.* i. 6. 129. misera ambitio, i. e. quæ miseros reddit.

[2] *Carptim*, "piecemeal;" "to write the history of Rome in monographies." Comp. Plin. *Ep.* vi. 22. ego carptim et κατὰ κεφάλαια. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 46. dimissi carptim ac singuli.

[3] *Absolvam:* scil. *narrationem*, "I will execute a narrative:" or absol. "I will discuss," i. q. agam, disseram. Comp. Ammian. Marc. xxiii. 6. locorum situm, quantum ratio sinit, absolvam.

[4] *Prius...quam...faciam*. The conjunct. unusual. *Jugur.* 5. priusquam initium expedio. It implies more hesitation, "before I think of beginning." Cic. *de Orat.* I. 39. tragœdi quotidie, antequam pronuncient, vocem sensim excitant.

[5] *Catilina*. This cognomen is connected with the words *catillus*, "a dish;" *catillo*, "one who licks dishes;" and may be a cant term for a pilferer.

[6] *Nobili genere*. The *gens Sergia*, a patrician house which claimed Trojan descent. Accordingly Virgil introduces a Sergestus in company with Æneas, *Æn.* v. 121. Sergestusque domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen. The name occurs in the *Fasti* from the year A.C. 303. There exists a coin of M. Sergius, with the cognomen Silus. One of this gens was distinguished for his valour in the war with Hannibal. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 29. M. Sergio, ut quidem arbitror, nemo quenquam hominum jure prætulerit, licet pronepos Catilinæ gratiam nomini deroget. Secundo stipendio dexteram manum perdidit, stipendiisque duobus ter et vicies vulneratus est...sinistra manu sola quater pugnavit,...dextram sibi ferream fecit, eaque alligata præliatus, &c. Pliny mentions another Ser-

magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque [1]. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere; ibique [2] juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens [3] inediæ, vigiliæ, algoris, supra quam cuiquam credibile est: animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujus rei libet [4] simulator ac dissimulator: alieni appetens, sui profusus; ardens in cupiditatibus: satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus [5] immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem [6] Lucii

gius, with the cognomen Orata, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 79. Ostrearum vivaria primus omnium invenit Sergius Orata in Baiano, ætate L. Crassi oratoris, ante Marsicum bellum; nec gulæ causa sed avaritiæ, magna vectigalia tali ex ingenio suo percipiens...is primus omnium saporem ostreis Lucrinis adjudicavit. It seems not unlikely that the nickname Catilina may have been given him on this account.

[1] *Malo pravoque: malus,* bad in essence, *pravus,* bad in form. Hence pravus, i. q. curvus, deformis, perversus: opposed to rectus. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 87. Sive ego pravè seu recte hoc volui. Hence *malus,* bad in morals, *pravus,* perverse in judgment. Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 60.

[2] *Ibi:* scil. *iis rebus.* Comp. *Catil.* 20. divitiæ apud illos sunt, ubi (sc. apud quos) illi volunt.

[3] *Corpus patiens.* Comp. Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 10. præclaram tuam patientiam famis frigoris inopiæ rerum omnium: and ii. 5. iii. 7. Comp. further the character of Catiline given by Cicero, *pro Cælio,* 6. Illa vero in homine mirabilia fuerunt.....versare suam naturam, et regere ad tempus, atque huc et illuc torquere et flectere: cum tristibus severe, cum remissis jucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter, cum facinorosis audaciter, cum libidinosis luxuriose vivere. Hæc ille tam varia multiplicique natura, cum omnes omnibus ex terris homines improbos audacesque collegerat, tum etiam multos fortes viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis assimulatæ tenebat.

[4] *Cujus rei libet:* i. q. *cujuslibet rei.* So *Catil.* 52. Sed cujus hæc cunque modi videntur.

[5] *Vastus animus,* "prodigious or monstrous spirit." *Vastus:* 1 vacant; 2 desert; 3 wild; 4 shocking, monstrous; 5 vast.

[6] *Post dominationem,* "no man since the usurpation of Sulla had been so ambitious of power." Comp. *Jugur.* 5. Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiæ opes maxime adtriverat, "more than any invader since the Roman power had become great."

Sullæ [1], lubido maxima invaserat reipublicæ capiendæ; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat [2]. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox, inopia rei familiaris, et conscientia scelerum; quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessima ac diversa [3] inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere [4], ac, paucis, instituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint, ut, paullatim immutata, ex pulcherrima, pessima ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi [5], condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aenea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his Aborigines [6], genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine

[1] *Sullæ,* not *Syllæ,* as appears from inscriptions, and from the derivation of the word from *sura.*

[2] *Quidquam pensi habebat.* Comp. *Catil.* 12. 23. 31. *Jugur.* 41. nihil pensi neque sancti habere. Liv. xlii. 23. *pensum,* i. q. *perpensum, consideratum.*

[3] *Diversa,* "contrary one to the other."

[4] *Supra repetere,* "to trace from a higher source:" the object is *instituta,* or rather *res Romanas* generally, understood in *inst. maj. disserere;* "to discuss," with or without an accus. of the object. Comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 40. ea disserere malui. Tac. *Ann.* i. 4. bona libertatis disserere. This passage involves both these constructions: scil. *disserere instituta,* and *disserere quomodo,* etc.

[5] *Sicuti ego accepi.* Implying that upon this point, namely, the foundation of Rome itself, there were different opinions. Tacitus commences his *Annals* with the words, Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; upon which there is no difference of opinion.

[6] *Aborigines.* Festus *in voc.* Aborigines appellati sunt quod errantes convenerint in agrum qui nunc est populi Rom. fuit enim gens antiquis-

imperio[1], liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una mœnia[2] convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes[3], incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed, postquam res[4] eorum civibus, moribus, agris[5] aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur[6], invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri, metu perculsi[7], a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiæque intenti[8], festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviam ire[9]; libertatem, patriam, parentesque[10] armis tegere: post, ubi

sima Italiæ. Suidas, Ἀβωρίγενες, ἔθνος Ἰταλικόν. Dionysius Halic. calls them Ἀβερρίγενες, evidently mistaking the meaning of the word; ὥστε δηλοῦσθαι πλανήτας.

[1] *Sine legibus, sine imperio,* "without laws or regular government."

[2] *Una mœnia. Unus* in plur. only joined with plural nouns; as *nuptiæ, litteræ,* etc. *Jugur.* 60. unæ atque alteræ scalæ.

[3] *Alius alio more viventes.* Comp. *Catil.* 52. alius alium expectantes. *Jugur.* 53.

[4] *Res,* i. q. *civitas.* So *res Romana, res Latina,* etc.

[5] *Civibus, moribus, agris,* "numbers, institutions, and territory."

[6] *Sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur,* i. e. *habent se, sunt.* Comp. the Greek idiom ὡς ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν θνητῶν, "as is the case generally with human affairs." *Mortalium* may be gen. of *mortalia,* or of *mortales,* i. e. *homines.*

[7] *Metu perculsi.* The common notion that *percussus* refers to the body, *perculsus,* to the mind, is erroneous. Either word is used either of body or mind; but *percussus* of the mind when the affection is slight, *perculsus* when it is grave. Bentley on Hor. *Ep.* vii. 15. Ruhnken on Terent. *Andr.* i. 1. 98. But this distinction is not always preserved.

[8] *Domi militiæque intenti,* "always actively engaged, whether in peace or in war."

[9] *Obviam ire,* "to oppose, resist." *Jugur.* 5. Liv. ix. 14.

[10] *Patriam parentesque,* "their country and their parents." This is the sense of *parentes* in this place, and in *Catil.* 52. *Jugur.* 87. Tac. *Ann.* i. 59. But *parentes* from *parēre,* "subjects," is also combined with *patriam,* and is only to be distinguished by the context. So *Jugur.* 3. vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, importunum est. Comp. *Jugur.* 102. parentes

pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant[1]; magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis, amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum[2], nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti[3], quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum, reipublicæ consultabant: hi, vel ætate, vel curæ similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod, initio, conservandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat[4], in superbiam dominationemque convertit[5], immutato more, annua imperia,

abunde habemus, amicorum nunquam satis fuit. Vell. ii. 108. Maroboduus ex voluntate parentium inter suos occupavit principatum.

[1] *Portabant.* This word used (for *ferebant*) of *weighty,* and fig. of *important* things. Ruhnken *ad Terent. Andr.* ii. 2. 1.

[2] *Imperium legitimum. Imperium* is absolute, irresponsible authority, within certain limits of time, place, and circumstance, as that of a general over his soldiers in the field, of the consul in certain particulars, as of levying soldiers, taking the auspices, &c. *Legitimum,* "restricted by law."

[3] *Delecti,* "selected;" *legere* and *eligere,* "to take," generally, out of a number: *deligere,* "to select for peculiar fitness." Thus in Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 76. Huic rei idoneos homines deligebat.

[4] *Regium imperium quod initio conservandæ libertatis fuerat,* "regal authority which had originally conduced to the maintenance of liberty." Comp. Liv. iii. 39. Quod unum exæquandæ sit libertatis. xxxviii. 50. nihil tam æquandæ libertatis esse. xxvii. 9. ea prodendi imperii Rom. tradendæ Hannibali victoriæ esse. Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 19. ea sola quæ agri tuendi erunt. In all these cases the subject of the sentence conduces to, or has for its object that which is put in the genit. with the future participle; and the genitive attributes to it a certain quality, function or tendency. But where the genitive is connected with another verb than the verb substantive, *causa* or *concilio* must be supplied, like the Greek ἕνεκα or χάριν. Thus Sallust *Fr. Hist.* i. 19. exercitum opprimendæ libertatis habet. Liv. viii. 6. placuit averruncandæ Deum iræ victimas cædi. That these are not genitives of quality (e. g. victims fit for averting divine wrath) appears from such passages as Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59. Germanicus Ægyptum proficiscitur cognoscendæ antiquitatis. iii. 27. multa populus paravit tuendæ libertatis et firmandæ concordiæ.

[5] *Convertit,* "turned itself," *intrans.* or more properly *reflexive.*

binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. Sed ea tempestate cœpere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate[1], quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat. Jam primum juventus, simul laboris ac belli patiens erat, in castris per usum militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant[2]. Igitur talibus viris non labos[3] insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus[4]: virtus omnia domuerat[5]. Sed gloriæ maximum certamen inter ipsos erat: sic se[6] quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, propera-

[1] *Adepta libertate.* The perf. partic. of the deponent used passively. So, *amplexus, confessus, expertus, moderatus, pactus, partitus, ultus,* and others.

All these deponents had in past ages an active form; the passive use of *adipiscor* is preserved in the indicative and infinitive, in Plaut. *Trinum.* ii. 2. 28. non ætate verum ingenio adipiscitur sapientia. Q. Fabius Maximus, quoted by Priscian, viii. 4. 16. amitti quam apisci.

[2] *Lubidinem habebant,* "placed their satisfaction."

[3] *Labos.* This form used by Sallust, according to the testimony of Servius on *Æn.* i. 253. Sallustius pæne ubique *labos* potuit, quem nulla necessitas (sc. metri) coegit.

[4] *Formidolosus,* "terrible," as in Cic. *pro Cluen.* 3. *pro leg. Man.* 21; but sometimes it has a passive signification, terrified, fearful, timid; as Tac. *Ann.* i. 62. Terent. *Eun.* iv. 6. 19.

[5] *Domuerat: domare,* poeticè, "to level the rough and soften the hard." Virg. *Æn.* ix. 608. rastris terram domat. Silius, iii. 499. magna vi saxa domantem.

[6] *Se;* redundant, after the verb of desiring.

bat[1]: eas[2] divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes, natura munitas, pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas, ex libidine magis quam ex vero[3], celebrat[4] obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstimo[5], satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verum aliquanto[6] minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed, quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia[7], per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui ea fecere[8] virtus tanta ha-

[1] *Properabat.* Comp. above, note on c. 1.

[2] *Eas,* for *id,* agreeing by attraction with *divitias;* therefore the emendation *ea* (neut. plur.) is unnecessary. Comp. Plaut. *Trinum.* iii. 2. 71. is est honos meminisse officium suum. Liv. ii. 38. Si hæc profectio et non fuga est. Cic. *Somn. Scip.* Hic fons, hoc principium est movendi: and the Virgilian, Hic labor hoc opus est.

[3] *Ex libidine magis quam ex vero.* The adverb *magis* is rejected by many MSS. Comp. *Catil.* 48. tanta vis hominis lenienda quam exagitanda videbatur. 9. beneficiis quam metu; and 52. Tac. *Ann.* i. 58. pacem quam bellum probatam. iii. 17. iv. 61.

[4] *Celebrat,* "renders famous or celebrated." Comp. *Jugur.* 85. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciendæ seque remque publicam celebravere.

[5] *Æstimo. Æstimo* has generally the primary sense of "counting," "reckoning," while *existimo* is confined to the secondary sense of "thinking," "supposing:" but where *æstimo* has the secondary or reflective sense, as in this passage, it is more direct and decided than *existimo.* Here, "I calculate," that is, on precise authentic data: *existimo* would be "I suppose, infer, imagine."

[6] *Aliquanto,* i. e. *bona parte,* "a good deal;" *aliquantum,* is not *paullum,* but *satis multum.*

[7] *Scriptorum magna ingenia,* "writers of great genius." Comp. Catul. lxiv. 4. Argivæ robora pubis i. q. pubes robusta.

[8] *Eorum qui ea facere.* This inelegant repetition occurs again,

betur, quantum verbis eam potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam ea copia[1] fuit: quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxime erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; optimus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxima, minima avaritia erat; jus bonumque[2] apud eos, non legibus magis quam natura, valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates, cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: in suppliciis deorum[3] magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles[4] erant. Duabus his artibus[5], audacia in bello,

Jugur. 31. neque eos qui ea facere pudet.

[1] *Ea copia*, "such means, opportunities, or advantages." The Romans had not the advantage of such excellent writers, because their ablest men were most engaged in affairs. For *copia* in this primary sense, comp. *Catil*. 17. quibus molliter vivere copia erat. Plaut. *Capt*. ii. 1. 21. quum quod volumus nos copia est. *Mil*. iv. 6. 11. copia vix fuit eum adeundi. Terent. *Heaut*. ii. 3. 41. ea res dedit tum existimandi copiam. For the sentiment compare Ovid, *Fast*. iii. 101:

Nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes,
Græcia, facundum sed male forte genus.
Qui bene pugnabat, Romanam noverat artem,
Mittere qui poterat pila disertus erat.

[2] *Jus bonumque*, "right and good," "lawful and expedient:" *jus* i. q. *rectum, æquum*; *bonum* i. q. *utile reipublicæ*. For the sentiment comp. Tac. *Ann*. iii. 26. init. *Germ*. 19. plus ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonæ leges.

[3] *In suppliciis Deorum*, "in the solemn services of the gods." *supplicium* i. q. *supplicatio*, a bending of the knee in prayer, adoration, or thanksgiving. Comp. Liv. xxvii. 50. matronæ suppliciis votisque fatigare Deos. Tac. *Ann*. iii. sed tunc supplicia Dis ludique magni decernuntur. Festus says further, *supplicia* veteres quædam *sacrificia* a supplicando vocabant. As applied to "punishment," (usually "capital punishment,") it means, kneeling to be beheaded, or scourged.

[4] *In amicis fideles*, "faithful in regard to their friends," not *in amicos*, the reading of some MSS. and many editions. Comp. *Catil*. 11. in

ubi pax evenerat, æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta hæc habeo; quod sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium[1] in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius, revocati, bello excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere, aut, pulsi, loco[2] cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis, quam metu[3], imperium agitabant[4], et, accepta injuria, ignoscere, quam persequi[5], malebant.

X. Sed, ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ, et populi[6] ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, æmula imperii Romani,

civibus facinora fecere. 51. quid in illis jure fieri posset. Cic. *de Off*. i. 14. qui aliis nocent ut in aliis liberales sint. The same construction is frequent in verse, where the metre shews this case to be ablat. and not accus. Ovid. *Met*. vii. 22. quid in hospite regia virgo ureris? *Trist*. v. 2. 26. lenis in hoste fuit. Virg. *Æn*. ii. 541. Talis in hoste fuit Priamo. The accus. would signify, "towards," the ablat. "in the matter of," "in regard to." The construction with the ablat. is not confined, as some have maintained, to expressing *love*, or *hate*.

[5] *Artibus*, "dispositions." Comp. *Jugur*. 90. luxuria et ignavia pessimæ artes. Or "principles," *Catil*. 10. fidem probitatem ceteras artes bonas. See above, c. 2.

[1] *Qui contra imp*. Comp. *Catil*. 52. the case of Manlius's son; and of Postumius Tubertus, Val. Max. ii. 7. 6.

[2] *Pulsi loco*, i. e. *loco suo*. Comp. *Jugur*. 38. 52.

[3] *Beneficii quam metu*. In this place most MSS. omit *magis*. See note on c. 8.

[4] *Agitabant*, "exercised," "practised:" Plin. *Ep*. viii. 2. agitare justitiam.

[5] *Ignoscere, quam persequi*. *Ignoscere* might stand absolutely, as *Fr. Hist*. i. 19. ignoscendo populi Romani magnitudinem auxisse: but *persequi* requires an object. Supply *eam* from *injuria*; and comp. *Jugur*. 14. tuasne injurias persequar? Cic. *pro Mur*. 21. acceptam injuriam persequi non placet.

[6] *Nationes feræ et populi*. Comp. Cic. *de Off*. ii. 8. regum populorum, nationum portus erat. *gens* and *natio*, *gens* and *populus*, are frequently combined without precise distinctions of signification. But properly *gens* and *natio* refer to community of origin, *populus* to community of institutions. Where *gens* and *natio* are distinguished, *gens* has the wider signification, as Tac. *Germ*. 2. ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse.

ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant[1], sævire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiæ, optandæ[2] aliis, oneri miseriæque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artes bonas subvertit[3]; pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit: ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque, non ex re, sed ex commodo, æstimare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere. Hæc primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari: post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit[4], civitas immutata; imperium, ex justissimo atque optimo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium pro-

[1] *Patebant*, "were accessible." Cities and territories are said *patere* to a people that has subdued and acquired the *right* to enter them; honours and offices, to the citizen who has a *right* to sue for them, Liv. iv. 25. ne cui patricio plebeii magistratus paterent; private possessions, to the owner, or the friend who has a *right* to use them as his own, Cic. *ad Div.* vi. 10. ut intelligant omnia Ciceronis patere Trebiano.

[2] *Optandæ*, "desirable." For this adjectival sense of the fut. part. pass., comp. *Jugur.* 64. virtus gloria atque alia optanda bonis.

[3] *Subvertit*, "has overthrown." The historic perfect: or the present, implying a general remark. In that case *edocuit* is aoristic, i. q. *edocere solet*; *subegit*, i. q. *subigere solet*.

[4] *Invasit*, "rushed in," in an absolute sense. Comp. *Catil.* 2; lubido atque superbia invasere. So *incessit*. *Catil.* 7. 13. *Jugur.* 13. 41.

pius virtutem[1] erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus, æque sibi exoptant: sed ille vera via[2] nititur; huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet[3], quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia, neque inopia[4], minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta republica[5], ex bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus[6] facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exerci-

[1] *Propius virtutem*, "nearer to virtue." Comp. *Jugur.* 18. propius mare Africum. 19. proxime Hispaniam. Liv. ii. 48. proxime formam latrocinii.

[2] *Vera via*, "genuine," "honest;" opposed to *dolis atque fallaciis*. Comp. Cic. *Philipp.* i. 14. vereor ne ignorans verum iter gloriæ. *Vera via* is also i. q. *recta*, opposed to *prava*, "crooked." Sall. *de Rep. Ordin.* animus ferox prava via ingressus.

[3] *Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet*, "avarice implies a devoted pursuit of money." For the force of *habet*, beyond the simple *est*, comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 4. habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, "seems to smack of injustice;" *de Off.* iii. 2. alterum potest habere dubitationem, "may admit of doubt."

[4] *Neque copia neque inopia*, "avarice is assuaged neither by wealth nor want;" i. e. "the desire of money which is inflamed by want is not less inflamed even by its acquisition."

[5] *Armis recepta republ.*, "when he had recovered possession of the government by force of arms." Comp. Cic. *pro Sex. Rosc.* 45., speaking of Sulla, imperii majestatem quam armis receperat. Sulla pretended to wrest the government from an usurping faction. His first professions were studiously mild. Comp. Vell. ii. 25. putetis Sullam venisse in Italiam non belli vindicem sed pacis auctorem; tanta cum quiete exercitum per Calabriam Apuliamque cum singulari cura frugum, agrorum, hominum, urbium perduxit. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 8. in illo secuta est honestam causam non honesta victoria.

[6] *In civibus*, "in regard to the citizens." Comp. note on ch. 9. *in amicis*.

tum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat[1]; loca amœna, voluptaria, facile in otio feroces militum animos molliverant. Ibi primam insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare[2]; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cælata mirari; ea privatim ac publice[3] rapere; delubra[4] spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere[5]. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant[6]: ne[7] illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent[8].

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori cœpere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia, sequebatur; hebescere[9]

[1] *Habuerat,* "had treated." Habere aliquem bene, male liberaliter, etc. i. q. *tractare.* Comp. *Jugur.* 103. Liv. xxix. 8; xxxvii. 34; xxxix. 1.

[2] *Amare, potare.* A jingling expression, equivalent to the English, "to indulge in wine and women." Comp. *Jugur.* 85. quin ergo ament, potent. *Potare* has a frequentative sense, "to drink freely."

[3] *Privatim ac publice,* "whether they were private or public property."

[4] *Delubra,* "shrines," in which votive offerings were dedicated. To rob a *temple* might imply only stripping it of its furniture or materials; but to rob a shrine is to carry off what has been peculiarly consecrated to the deity. Varro's derivation of the word is among the most probable: sicut locum in quo figerent candelam candelabrum appellarunt, ita in quo deum ponerent nominarunt delubrum.

[5] *Nihil reliqui victis fecere,* "left nothing to the conquered:" the construction, i. q. facere aliquid esse earum rerum quæ relinquuntur. The construction is similar in the phrases, lucri, compendi, æqui, boni facere.

[6] *Animos fatigant,* "shake their principles."

[7] *Ne,* in the sense of *nedum,* which is given in many MSS., and is cited here by Priscian, "much less."

[8] *Ne illi...temperarent,* "much less could they, the Roman soldiers, with their corrupt habits, be expected to refrain from abusing their victory." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 31. qui semper Bedriaci victoriæ temperassent; i. e. victoria moderare usi fuissent.

[9] *Hebescere,* "the brilliancy of virtue grew dim." Comp. Sall. *de Rep. Ordin.* ii. 6. postquam divitiæ claræ haberi.

virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci[1] cœpit. Igitur, ex divitiis[2], juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia, invasere: rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam[3], divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati[4] habere. Operæ pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum illi[5] delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam[6], eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis[7] adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores reliquerant: proinde quasi[8] injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ, nisi his qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus

[1] *Pro malivolentia duci,* "was reputed to be envy or spite towards the rich and successful."

[2] *Ex divitiis.* The prep. indicates the *cause* or *origin.* *Catil.* 14. uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat. *Jugur.* 32. timido et ex conscientia diffidenti.

[3] *Pudorem, pudicitiam,* "modest principles," "personal chastity."

[4] *Pensi...moderati,* "weighed and measured," "considered and regulated."

[5] *Verum illi,* "but the ancients indeed;" with emphasis: *verum* is not opposed to the preceding words, but to the inference understood. Supply, "You will then see how great is the difference," i. e. between the temples of ancient days and modern mansions.

[6] *Injuriæ licentiam,* "licence to oppress their own neighbours." The Romans excused their own aggressions on the plea of defending weaker nations against the tyranny of their neighbours. Comp. Rutilius, i. 64. Profuit injustis te dominante capi.

[7] *Sociis; hostibus.* The same opposition expressed in different words by Cicero, *in Verr.* iv. honestius est reipublicæ...imperatorem ea in bello reliquisse, quam prætorem in pace abstulisse.

[8] *Proinde quasi,* "exactly as if." Ruhnken, on Ter. *Heaut.* i. 1. 13.

subversos montes, maria constructa[1] esse: quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti[2] per turpidinem properabant. Sed lubido ganeæ, ceterique cultus[3], non minor incesserat: ....[4] vescendi caussa, terra marique omnia exquirere[5]; domire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim, neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere[6]. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubidinibus carebat[7]: eo profusius omnibus modis quæstui atque sumptui deditus erat.

[1] *Subversos montes, maria constructa.* Mountains overthrown (excavated) to make seas (lakes or fish-ponds). This refers particularly to Lucullus, into whose fish-ponds at Bauli sea-water was admitted by a dyke cut through a hill. Pompey called him the Xerxes togatus. Vel. ii. 33. Comp. Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 11. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 54. Lucullus exciso monte euripum et maria admisit. Varro, *de Re Rust.* iii. 17. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 15.

[2] *Quas...abuti,* scil. *iis.* Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 3. quæ...facultas data erit utemur, scil. ea. *Jugur.* 54. universos ...laudat atque agit gratias, scil. iis.

[3] *Cultus,* "refinement," in either a good or a bad sense; as Horace, *Sat.* ii. 2. 65. Mundus erit qui non offendat sordidus atque in neutram partem cultus miser. Liv. xxix. 21. de cultu ac desidia imperatoris.

[4] *In propatulo,* "had no reserve about:" *propatulum,* "open on all sides:" in propatulo ædium, "in the open court of a house."

[5] *Terra marique omnia exquirere.* Imitated by Lucan, iv. 375. quæsitorum terra pelagoque ciborum Ambitiosa fames. See Aul. Gellius, vii. 16, about the foreign luxuries of the Roman table; and Seneca, *Ep.* 89. Compare also for the general scope of the passage, Lucan. i. 163:

Non auro tectisve modus, mensasque priores
Aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros
Vix nuribus rapuere mares: fœcunda vivorum
Paupertas fugitur, totoque accersitur orbe,
Quo gens quæque perit, etc.

[6] *Luxu antecapere,* "to anticipate with voluptuous indulgence."

[7] *Haud facile carebat,* "could not easily control or forego the gratification of its appetites;" therefore, "could not *be free from* them." *carere,* i. q. *vacare, liberum esse ab aliqua re.*

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum[1] circum se, tanquam stipatorum[2], catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus[3], adulter, ganeo, ... bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea, omnes undique[4] parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; ii Catilinæ[5] proximi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat[6], quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium fami-

[1] *Flagitiorum atque facinorum.* The abstract "crimes" for the concrete "criminals;" as, *scelus, pestis,* &c. are frequently used. The reading, *flagitiosorum, facinorosorum,* is a mistaken attempt to correct this legitimate figure of speech. With regard to the distinction between the words, *flagitium* conveys the idea of "disgraceful," *facinus* of what is "amazing," or "monstrous."

[2] *Stipatorum,* "attendants," "body-guards."

[3] *Nam quicunque impudicus,* etc. Comp. Cicero, *in Catil.* ii. 4. quis tota Italia veneficus quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissimè vixisse fateatur? Comp. Plutarch, *in Vit. Ciceronis,* c. 10.

[4] *Omnes undique.* A poetical repetition, as Virg. *Æn.* ii. 498: quos omnes undique Graiæ Circum errant acies.

[5] *Catilinæ:* gen. cas. governed by *proximi,* "the nearest and most intimate friends of Catilina." Comp. *Jugur.* 80: regis Bocchi proximos.

[6] *Incidere,* "to fall into," used generally, as the English, in a bad sense. We say, "to fall into bad habits," not "into good habits."

liaritates adpetebat: eorum animi, molles et ætate fluxi[1], dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo, neque sumptui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret....

XV. Jam primum[2] adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat; cum virgine nobili[3], cum sacerdote Vestæ[4], alia[5] hujuscemodi contra jus fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ[6], cujus, præter formam, nihil unquam bonus laudavit; quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta ætate; pro certo creditur, necato filio[7], vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi

[1] *Animi...fluxi*, "pliant" or "ductile." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 38: fluxam senio mentem. Suet. *Tib.* 52: Drusus animi fluxioris.

[2] *Jam primum*, "to begin then:" not with reference to the youth of Catiline, but to the narrative in hand. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6; Liv. xi. 3.

[3] *Cum virgine nobili.* The person is not indicated. Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.* 10) points to Catiline's own daughter. Asconius says that he married a woman who was actually his daughter by an illicit connexion. These conflicting statements may serve to invalidate the general charge against Catiline of monstrous irregularity.

[4] *Cum sacerdote Vestæ.* This is said to have been Fabia, sister of Cicero's wife Terentia. Asconius, on Cicero's *Oration in toga candida.* She was acquitted of the charge. Cicero makes no direct mention of it, but may allude to it in the passage cited by Asconius: Quum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam quum nulla culpa subesset, crimen afferret: on which he remarks; ita et suis pepercit et nihilo levius inimico summi opprobrii turpitudinem objecit.

[5] *Alia.* Without the copula, as *Catil.* 21. 48. 57.

[6] *Orestillæ.* Probably of the family of L. Aurelius Orestes, L. f. L. n. who was consul A.U. 597. An Aufidius Orestes was consul A.U. 683.

[7] *Necato filio.* Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 6. quum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuam fecisses. The story is repeated by Valerius Maximus, ix. 1. 9. Cicero tells a similar story of one Oppianicus, in the speech for Cluentius, c. 9.

in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus[1], neque vigiliis, neque quietibus[2] sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat[3]. Igitur colos exsanguis, fœdi oculi[4], citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus[5] in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque[6] falsos commodare[7]; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia[8] imperabat: si caussa peccandi in præsens minus suppetebat; nihilo minus insontes, sicuti sontes, circumvenire, jugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito[9] potius malus atque crudelis erat. His ami-

[1] *Infestus*, "hateful," *passive;* more commonly *active*, "hostile."

[2] *Quietibus.* So the plural in Cicero, *de Off.* i. 29. somno et quietibus cæteris; though it is there used not for sleep, but for other modes of refreshing the body.

[3] *Vastabat*, "spoiled, ravaged," i. q. *diripiebat.* This is the reading of a majority of MSS.: the editions very commonly adopt the easier reading *vexabat.* Comp. *Jugur.* 41. avaritia polluere et vastare omnia.

[4] *Fœdi oculi*, "discoloured," "bloodshot."

[5] *Prorsus*, "in short." Joined with a verb at the end of a sentence, i. q. *ut paucis complectar.* Comp. *Catil.* 25. prorsus multæ facetiæ leposque inerat.

[6] *Signatores.* Persons who attested wills with their seals. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 23.

[7] *Commodare:* "from among these persons he was wont to offer the services of false witnesses." *Commodare*, the historic infin.

[8] *Habere ... majora alia.* Both the infin. and the subst. governed by *imperabat.* Comp. Hor. *Od.* i. 2, 50. Hic magnos potius *triumphos*, Hic ames *dici* pater atque princeps. i. 1, 19. Est qui nec veteris *pocula* Massici, Nec partem solido *demere* de die Spernit. For the change from the infin. to the imperf. comp. *Catil.* 54. nihil *denegare*...tibi magnum imperium ex *optabat;* and c. 56.

[9] *Gratuito*, "wantonly," i. e. with no immediate motive or temptation: hence, "in vain," "to no purpose:" Liv. i. 47. jam enim a scelere ad aliud

cis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod æs alienum per omnes terras ingens erat[1], et quod plerique Sullani milites[2], largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant; opprimendæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italia[3] nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris[4] bellum gerebat: ipsi consulatum petenti[5] magna spes: senatus nihil[6] sane intentus: tutæ tranquillæque res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias[7], L. Cæsare[8] et C. Figulo[9] consulibus, primo singulos adpel-

spectare mulier scelus...ac gratuita præterita parricidia essent. For the sentiment compare Cic. *de Off.* ii. 24. of Cæsar, ut hoc ipsum eum delectaret, peccare, etiam si causa non esset.

[1] *Quod æs alienum per omnes terras ingens erat*, "because in every country there were men deeply in debt;" and therefore interested in the success of a social revolution.

[2] *Sullani milites.* The veterans of Sulla's legions, many thousands of whom he had settled in colonies throughout Italy. These fortunate soldiers soon squandered the produce of their estates, contracted debts, and having no habits of peaceful industry, only looked to new commotions to retrieve themselves. Comp. *Catil.* 37. and Cic. *in Catil.* ii. 9. in tantum æs alienum inciderunt, ut si salvi esse velint Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus.

[3] *In Italia.* The republic never maintained a standing army in Italy: its legions were all occupied in the provinces. The police of Rome and the large towns was kept by the citizens themselves, and the consuls and chief magistrates had only a few lictors and archers in attendance upon them.

[4] *In extr. terris.* Pompey was engaged, under the provisions of the Manilian bill, which gave him proconsular power over all the provinces of the east, in subduing Mithridates, king of Pontus, and in ordering the affairs of the eastern frontier. Comp. Lucan, iv. 1. At procul extremis terrarum Cæsar in oris, i. e. Spain.

[5] *Consulatum petenti.* Catiline first stood for the consulship A. U. 688. Being thwarted in this attempt he still hoped to succeed at a subsequent opportunity: his suit for the consulship is therefore spoken of as still proceeding.

[6] *Nihil*, "in no respect at all:" more emphatic than the simple *non*.

[7] *Kal. Junias*, "the first of June:" A. U. 690. B. C. 64.

[8] *L. Cæsare*, i.e. L. Julius Cæsar, a connexion, but distant, of C. Cæsar the dictator, and uncle by his sister Julia, of M. Antonius the triumvir.

[9] *C. Figulo*, i. e. C. Marcius Figulus: adopted into the Marcian gens, his original name being C. Minucius Thermus.

lare[1]: hortari alios, alios tentare: opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quæ voluit[2], in unum[3] omnes convocat, quibus maxima necessitudo[4], et plurimum audaciæ inerat. Eo convenere, senatorii ordinis, P. Lentulus Sura[5], P. Autronius[6], L. Cassius Longinus[7], C. Cethegus[8], P. et Servius Sullæ[9], Servii filii,

[1] *Singulos appellare*, "he addressed various persons separately:" *appellare*, "to appeal with urgency." Comp. *Jugur.* 14.

[2] *Ubi satis explorata sunt quæ voluit*, "when he had fully discovered all he wanted," i.e. the temper and disposition of the persons he sounded. To express, "when others had discovered what he wanted," would require *quæ vellet*.

[3] *In unum*, "together," "so as to meet one another." It is not necessary to supply *locum*.

[4] *Necessitudo*, not "connexion" in this place, but "necessity," "straits." After *necessitudo* supply *erat*, which is comprehended in *inerat*.

[5] *P. Lentulus Sura*, of the Cornelian gens: consul A. U. 683. He had been expelled from the senate for licentious conduct. He was induced by pretended Sibylline oracles to believe that three Cornelii should be monarchs of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had fulfilled their destiny, and that he was himself fated to be the third. See Plutarch, *Vit. Cicer.* 17. The cognomen *Sura*, means "an ancle." *Sulla* is a diminutive of the same meaning.

[6] *P. Autronius*, surnamed *Pætus*: see the following chapter.

[7] *L. Cassius Longinus.* This man was a competitor with Cicero in suing for the consulship: he was remarkable for his corpulence. See Cic. *in Catil.* iii. 7. nec mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. He undertook the charge of setting the city on fire.

[8] *C. Cethegus.* One of the Cornelian gens. He was, next to Catiline, the prime mover of the conspiracy, and was notorious for his ferocity and boldness. He is called by Lucan, Cethegus of the bared arm. ii. 544. exsertique manus vesana Cethegi. vi. 794. Mariique truces, nudique Cethegi.

[9] *P.* and *Serv.* Cornelius Sulla were nephews of the dictator, sons of his brother Servius. Publius was absolved from the charge of conspiracy with Catiline, being defended by Cicero.

L. Vargunteius[1], Q. Annius[2], M. Porcius Læca[3], L. Bestia[4], Q. Curius[5]: præterea ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles[6]. Erant præterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juventus pleraque, sed maxime nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum[7] non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn.

[1] *L. Vargunteius.* This man undertook to assassinate Cicero in his house. He had been Cicero's colleague in the quæstorship: accused of bribery and defended by Hortensius, but condemned. See Cic. *pro Sulla*, 2, 5.

[2] *Q. Annius.* This person is unknown; but Cicero mentions an uncle of Catiline's named L. Annius, who had been condemned judicially in the year 690.

[3] *M. Porcius Læca*, at whose house the conspirators met, *Catil.* 27. Comp. Cic. *pro Sull.* 2. and *in Catil.* i. 4.

[4] *L. Bestia*, of the gens Calpurnia. He was tribune of the people in the year of the conspiracy. Escaping condemnation, he became afterwards ædile, A. U. 696.

[5] *Q. Curius.* Of this man see further, *Catil.* 23, 28. The senate voted him a reward as the discoverer of the conspiracy; but Cicero was induced to declare that it had been first disclosed to him by C. Cæsar, and the reward was taken from Curius. See Suet. *Vit. Jul.* 17.

[6] *Domi nobiles*, "noble," i. e. "distinguished by their family honours and magistracies in their native cities." At Rome a man became *nobilis* by serving a curule magistracy; i. e. becoming consul, prætor, ædile or censor.

[7] *M. Licinium Crassum.* This Crassus belonged to a branch of the family surnamed Dives. He was himself proverbially the richest of the Romans. He was ambitious of becoming the chief of the commonwealth, and trimmed between the Marians and the senate. Finding himself outstripped in popularity and fame by Pompey, he leagued with him and Cæsar, and formed an alliance which received the name of a triumvirate: which implied an extraordinary public commission. He took the government of Syria A. U. 700, intending to make war upon the Parthians, and acquire great military resources for the furtherance of his schemes; but was slain after the fatal battle of Carrhæ, A. U. 701. There is no proof of his supposed connexion with the conspiracy of Catiline.

Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua, quam verissime potero, dicam. L. Tullo, M. Lepido consulibus[1], P. Autronius et P. Sulla, legibus ambitus[2] interrogati[3], pœnas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum[4] reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri[5] nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso[6], adoles-

[1] *L. Tullo, M. Lepido Coss.* A. U. 688. B. C. 66. L. Volentius Tullus and M. Æmilius Lepidus consuls.

[2] *Legibus ambitus*, "by the laws relating to canvassing for office." Of these the principal was the *lex Calpurnia* (more correctly, *acilia Calpurnia* from the consuls of the year 687, by whom it was passed,) confirmed and extended by the *lex Tullia* of Cicero, (691), against bribery. See Cic. *pro Murena*, 23, 32.

[3] *Interrogati*, accused, i. q. *postuletis*.

[4] *Pecun. repetundarum*, or simply, *repetundarum*, "convicted of extortion in provincial administration." Catiline had served the prætorship in Africa.

[5] *Profiteri*, scil. *se candidatum*. He could not declare himself a candidate to the Rogator within the proper time, because he had not been absolved from the charge which incapacitated him. Comp. Vell. ii. 92. quæsturam petentes quos indignos putavit profiteri prohibuit.

[6] *Cn. Piso.* A young noble of the Calpurnian gens. He is to be distinguished from his contemporaries, 1. C. Piso, consul A.U. 687, proconsul of the Province in Gaul, where he reduced the Allobroges, a stanch supporter of the Senate; 2. C. Piso Frugi, first husband to Cicero's daughter Tullia; 3. L. Piso Cæsorinus, consul A.U. 696, when Cicero was driven into banishment, the subject of his furious invective *in Pisonem*: (Cæsar married his daughter Calpur-

cens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius, circa Nonas Decembres, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio, Kalendis Januariis[1], L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis[2], Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias[3] mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium cædis transtulerant[4]. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plurisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare[5], eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res[6] consilium diremit[7].

nia); 4. M. Papius Piso Calpurnianus, a Calpurnius adopted by M. Papius; consul A.U. 693.

[1] *In Capitolio Kal. Jan.* On the first of January when the new consuls assumed the fasces, they convened the Senate in the Capitol, and were saluted by the nobles and magistrates. The conspirators intended to take advantage of this solemnity to effect their assassination. L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus were consuls A.U. 690.

[2] *Fascibus correptis,* "seizing the fasces," i.e. the consular power, which they represented.

[3] *Duas Hispanias.* At this time Spain was divided into two provinces, the Hither and the Further, afterwards Tarraconensis and Bœtica. The former extended from the Pyrenees to the Sinus Urcitanus, (modern Almeria,) on the south, to Gallæcia and the mouth of the Douro on the west; the latter was supposed to comprehend the rest of the peninsula, but beyond the Guadiana the country was only partially subdued till the prætorship of Cæsar, A.U. 694. Between the Guadiana and the Douro a third province was afterwards formed called Lusitania.

[4] *Rursus transtulerant.* This repetition is not unfrequent. Comp. Florus, i. 3. in suum corpus rediisse rursus. Terence, *Adelph.* iv. 1. 9. quam huc reverti posset iterum.

[5] *Maturasset ... dare,* "had given too soon," i.q. maturius dedisset. *Pro curia,* in front of the Senate-house.

[6] *Ea res,* i. e. his having given the signal too soon.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor pro prætore[1] missus est, adnitente[2] Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum[3] Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe fœdum hominem a republica procul esse volebat: simul[4], quia boni complures[5] præsidium in eo putabant: et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis[6],

[7] *Consilium diremit,* "knocked the plan on the head."

[1] *Quæstor pro prætore,* "a quæstor with prætor's rank." Having served the inferior office of quæstor, commissioner of the treasury, at Rome, Piso was sent to govern the Hither Spain, with the superior rank of proprætor, ordinarily given only to such as had served the prætorship at home. But, as Sallust insinuates, the Senate stretched a point in order to get quit of a dangerous enemy. Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 9. Pisoni ob suspicionem urbanæ conjurationis provinciam Hispaniam ultro *extra ordinem* datam esse. The phrases pro prætore, pro consule, are equivalent to the substantives proprætor, proconsul. Some of the provinces were prætorian, others consular; the latter were for the most part frontier provinces, or such as required large armies for their defence; e. g. the two Gauls, Syria, Cilicia, and Macedonia. On the other hand, Asia, Achaia, Bithynia, and the three provinces of Spain, were prætorian.

[2] *Adnitente,* "lending all his influence thereto."

[3] *Infestum inimicum,* "a bitter personal enemy." The former word is omitted in several MSS. as apparently redundant.

[4] *Simul.* Sallust frequently uses this copulative to connect a second less important reason with the principal reason already given. Comp. *Catil.* 16, 17, 20, 56, and *Jugur.* 4. cujus de virtute quia multi dixere prætereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere.

[5] *Complures,* i. q. *nonnulli,* in a positive sense, "several;" *plures* always comparative, with reference to another smaller number.

[6] *Ab equit. Hisp.* For the motive of this assassination, compare Dion, xxxvi. 27. *ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀδικήσας τι αὐτοὺς ἐσφάγη.* And Asconius, *ad Cic. Orat. cont. Ant. et L. Catil.* Piso perierat in Hispania, ibique dum injurias provincialibus facit, occisus est. Sallust's insinuation against Pompeius is not credible; he had not sufficient motive, besides being far absent and occupied with other affairs. If there was any domestic treachery, it lies at the door of the Senatorial party itself.

quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens[1] occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt[2], imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati: alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque [3]clientes[4], voluntate ejus Pisonem adgressos; numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt; tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore[5] credens universos[6] adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secedit: atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. "Ni virtus fidesque

[1] *Iter faciens*, "on a march;" not, on his way into the country, where he had already arrived, as appears from Dion and Asconius.

[2] *Sunt qui ita dicunt.* Some read *dicant.* The distinction, if correctly observed, comes to this, *Sunt qui dicunt;* there are some, I know, who say, *Sunt qui dicant;* some, perhaps, may be found who say.

[3] *Cnæi Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes.* An accidental hexameter. Many such have been discovered in the Latin prose-writers. Comp. *Jugur.* 5. Bellum scripturus sum quod populus Romanus. Tac. *Ann.* i. 1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere. *Germ.* 39. Sylvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram. Quintilian has remarked, *Inst. Orat.* ix. 4, that Livy's preface begins with a portion of an hexameter: Facturusne operæ pretium sin. Drakenborch, on this passage, collects similar instances. See Liv. vii. 11, 13, 14; xxi. 9; xxii. 50; xxiii. 18.

[4] *Clientes.* Persons whom Pompeius had attached to himself in the province when he commanded there against Sertorius: such as Cæsar (*Bell. Civ.* i. 75) calls beneficiarii. See Cæs. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 11. magna esse Pompeii beneficia et magnas clientelas in provincia citeriore sciebat.

[5] *In rem fore*, "to the purpose," "advantageous." In the same sense ob rem, *Jugur.* 31; and ex re, Terent. *Phorm.* v. 7, 76.

[6] *Universos*, "the whole number collectively."

vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset[1]; spes magna, dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent: neque ego per ignaviam[2], aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis et magnis tempestatibus[3] vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere[4]: simul, quia vobis eadem, quæ mihi, bona malaque intellexi; nam idem velle[5] atque idem nolle, ea demum[6] firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi[7] audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit[8], semper illis reges, tetrarchæ[9] vectigales

[1] *Res cecidisset.* Metaph. from the fall of dice.

[2] *Per ignaviam*, etc., "by means of," "through the instrumentality of." Comp. below, emori per virtutem, vitam per dedecus amittere. *Catil.* 12. per summum scelus omnia sociis adimere. 42. inconsultè ac velut per dementiam agere.

[3] *Tempestatibus*, "seasons of peril or trouble." *Tempestas*, in its primary sense, is "a period of time," opposed to *tempus*, "a moment of time." Hence it is sometimes used for a favourable or fitting season, as Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 4. Si esset licitum per nautas qui tempestatem prætermittere nolebant. But more commonly for an unfavourable or perilous season.

[4] *Incipere*, "to undertake."

[5] *Idem velle*, etc. Comp. *Jugur.* 31. quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit, sed hæc inter bonos amicitia inter malos factio est. The same sentiment is found in some places of Cicero, and echoed by Seneca *de Ira*, iii. 34. vinculum amoris idem velle.

[6] *Ea demum*, "that after all."

[7] *Diversi*, "separately."

[8] *Concessit in*, "has fallen under."

[9] *Tetrarchæ;* properly, "rulers of quarters of kingdoms," applied to some oriental potentates, among whom the father often divided his dominions between his sons. But this signification was dropped, and the word was applied to certain petty or dependent sovereigns in the East, to whom the republic would not concede the kingly

esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus[1] fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate[2], his obnoxii[3], quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: nobis reliquere, pericula[4], repulsas judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis est: viget ætas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt[5]. Tantum modo incepto opus est: cetera res expediet[6].

title. It has been remarked that the word *tetrarchæ* is generally found in combination with *reges.* Comp. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* iv. 26. tetrarchas regesque territos animi firmavit. Cic. *pro Mil.* 28. omitto socios, exteras nationes, regem tetrarchas. *In Vatin.* 12. fœdere cum civitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis. Vell. ii. 51. regum, tetrarcharum, simulque dynastarum copiis. Horat. *Sat.* i. 3, 12. modo reges atque tetrarchas, Omnia magna, loquens.

[1] *Vulgus*, "a mere rabble." Comp. Justin. xli. 1. Parthi veluti vulgus sine nomine præda victorum fuere. Hom. *Od.* ii. 16. malignum spernere vulgus. Here it is opposed to the respectable class of citizens, such as have legitimate influence and authority in the state.

[2] *Sine gratia, sine auctoritate*, "without interest or influence."

[3] *His obnoxii*, "under obligation to them," and therefore "at their mercy." Comp. *Catil.* 48. plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii.

[4] *Pericula*, etc. The danger which the weak incur in political competition with the powerful, which he goes on to specify, the loss of their elections, charges of bribery preferred against them by their opponents, poverty from the disappointment of their hopes of office and emolument, and from the judicial fines which may be inflicted upon them.

[5] *Consenuerunt*, "grown weak," metaphorically. Comp. Liv. xxxv. 12. ne cunctando senescerent concilia. i. 22. senescere civitatem otio ratus.

[6] *Cætera res expediet*, "circumstances," or "the thing itself will effect the rest."

Etenim quis mortalium cui virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare[1], quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coæquandis[2]; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare[3]; nobis larem familiarem[4] nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; nova diruunt[5], alia ædificant; postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant[6]: tamen summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam sæpe optastis, libertas, præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis, quam oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini: neque animus,

[1] *Superare*, i. q. *abunde esse.* Comp. *Jugur.* 64.

[2] *In exstruendo mari et montibus coæquandis*, "in raising seas and levelling mountains," i. e. excavating fish-ponds on shore, and cutting through land to admit the water of the sea. Comp. above, c. 13. subversos montes, maria constructa.

[3] *Continuare*, i. q. *domos domibus adjicere*, "to join two or more houses together." Comp. Liv. xxxiv. 4. ingens cupido agros continuandi. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 39. domo palatium et hortos continuare.

[4] *Larem familiarem*, "a domestic genius," or "family divinity;" implying "a home."

[5] *Nova diruunt*, "destroy," from mere caprice, "what has been just built." Compare the story of Cæsar in Suet. *Jul.* 46. munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodiderunt: villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis inchoatam magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderet, totam diruisse, quanquam tenuem adhuc et obæratum.

[6] *Pecuniam trahunt, vexant*, "they spoil and plunder," i. e. "squander and dissipate their means:" *vexo*, according to A. Gell. ii. 6, is from *vehor;* and *trahere, vexare* have much the same meaning as the military terms *agere, ferre*, "to drive and carry off;" thereby effecting a devastation.

neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam; nisi forte animus fallit, et vos servire, quam imperare, parati estis."

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla; tamen etsi illis quieta movere[1], magna merces[2] videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli[3] foret: quæ præmia armis peterent; quid ubique[4] opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas[5], proscriptionem[6] locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert[7]. Præterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum[8], consilii sui

[1] *Quieta movere,* i. q. *turbare.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 30. mota Africa. Imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 5. composita turbare; quieta perturbare.

[2] *Merces,* "reward," "gain;" frequently in a bad sense.

[3] *Conditio belli,* "condition, or terms on which they were to engage." *Conditio* means, 1 state of life, rank, position; 2 agreement, pact; 3 the thing about which an agreement is made, e. g. a marriage.

[4] *Quid ubique.* This may be explained *quid opis, et ubi id haberet.* Comp. 47. quid aut qua de causa consilii habuisset.

[5] *Tabulas novas,* "fresh tablets," i. e. an abolition of debts. The metaphor is taken from the use of waxed tablets for scoring accounts. When the account was cleared, by payment or otherwise, the wax might be smoothed with the blunt end of the stylus, in readiness to begin a new score.

[6] *Proscriptionem;* a placard by which notice is publicly given of a sale, &c. Ulpian, in the Digest, gives the name to the announcement over a shop: Proscribere palam sic accipimus, claris literis ut de plano rectè legi possint, ante tabernam scilicet, vel ante eum locum, in quo negotiatio exercetur, nec in loco remoto, sed in evidenti. Hence the proclamation by which the lives or properties of citizens were declared forfeited were called proscriptions. Sulla was the first to placard *tabulas proscriptionis.* Afterwards the second triumvirate, Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius.

[7] *Fert,* "has for its own," or "makes its own." Ter. *Heaut.* ii. 1. 3. rerum quas fert adolescentia. Or in the sense of *aufert:* as Horace, Omnia fert ætas.

[8] *P. Sittium Nucerinum.* Sittius derived his name from Nuceria (Nocera) a city of Campania. He had fled to Mauretania to escape an accusation at Rome, and maintained himself in distinction there by siding alternately with the petty chiefs of the country in their intestine feuds. He took Cæsar's side after the battle of Thapsus, and intercepted Scipio and other fugitives of the senatorial party. Cæsar made him a grant of territory from the possessions of Juba king of Numidia, where he was ultimately killed in a quarrel with a native chief.

participes: petere consulatum C. Antonium[1], quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum[2]: cum eo se consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, maledictis increpat omnes bonos: suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiæ, multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat[3]. Postquam omnium animos alacres videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem[4] suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum populares[5] sceleris sui adigeret[6], humani corporis sangui-

[1] *C. Antonium.* This Antonius had the cognomen Hybrida. He was the son of the famous orator M. Antonius, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, who was father of Antony the triumvir. He became consul in the year 691, and was Cicero's colleague.

[2] *Omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum,* "distressed by exigencies of various kinds."

[3] *Prædæ fuerat,* "had been an occasion of booty, illegitimate gain." Comp. c. 48. nam alia belli facinora prædæ magis quam detrimento fore.

[4] *Petitionem,* "suit for the consulship."

[5] *Populares,* properly, "of his own nation:" hence, "associates," as *Catil.* 24. quod factum primo populares conjurationis concusserat. Terent. *Phorm.* i. 1. 1. Amicus summus meus et popularis Geta. Donatus on Ter. *Adelph.* ii. 1. 1. popularitas in omnis rei consortium sumitur.

[6] *Adigeret.* This reading (for *adiceret* or *addiceret*) guessed by Cortius, has been confirmed by MSS. The phrase is common: adigere wit out the prep. occurs: as Cæs. *Bell. Civ.* 1. 76. ipse idem jusjurandum adigit Afranium: and ii. 28.

nem[1], vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; inde cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo[2] inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii[3]. Nonnulli ficta et hæc, et multa præterea, existimabant, ab his, qui Ciceronis invidiam[4], quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine[5] parum comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus[6]; quem censores senatu, probri gratia

1 *Humani corporis sanguinem.* The redundant expression seems intended for emphasis. This ceremony is mentioned by the historians, Florus, iv. 1; Dion Cass. xxxvii. 20, who adds that a boy was slain for the purpose. But the custom of ratifying an oath by drawing blood from the body and drinking it existed among the Scythians and Dacians, and was probably in this case a remnant of an old Italian superstition. The Christian apologists pointed with triumph to this horrid rite. Minucius, *Octav.* 30. et quod Saturni filio dignum est...ipsum credo docuisse sanguinis fœdere conjurare Catilinam. Cicero may possibly allude to it *in Catil.* 1. sica, quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris et devota sit....; but Sallust himself insinuates that it was at least unknown to Cicero. Perhaps it was a single drop of blood mixed in a bowl of wine to preserve the shadow of an antique ceremonial.

2 *Atque eo, dictitare, fecisse quo,* "and they went on to say, he did so in order that," &c. *Dictitare.* The historic infin.; the subject being the same as to *fuere qui dicerent. Eo...quo,* "in order that."

3 *Alius alii...conscii.* The dat.; as in the construction, *conscire sibi.* Terent. *Heaut.* i. 1. 69. qui fuere ei conscii. Tac. *Ann.* i. 43. flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius.

4 *Ciceronis invidiam,* passivè, "the odium against Cicero," when he was afterwards accused by the tribune Clodius of getting Roman citizens punished with death without an appeal to the people.

5 *Pro magnitudine,* "considering its importance."

6 *Coopertus,* "overwhelmed." We say, "covered with infamy," or "with ridicule:" the Romans applied the metaphor to the deeds themselves, as Cic. *in Ver.* i. 4. sceleribus coopertum. Liv. xxxix. 15. cooperti stupris. Horace's use of the phrase approaches nearly to ours: *Sat.* ii. 1. 68. Famosisque Lupus coopertus versibus.

moverant[1]. Huic homini non minor vanitas, quam audacia: neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet[2] ipse scelera occultare: prorsus[3] neque dicere, neque facere[4], quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, vetus consuetudo[5]: cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque[6] polliceri cœpit; minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia[7] foret; postremo ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiæ[8] Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit[9]; sed, sublato auctore[10], de Ca-

1 *Senatu...moverant.* This is the phrase for "expelling from the senate," which was done by the censor omitting the name on reading the list of the order at the *lustrum.* Comp. Liv. xxvii. 11. xxxiv. 44. xxxviii. 28. The same phrase is applied more generally, *statu, possessione movere. Amoverant,* the reading of one MS. and several editions, is incorrect.

2 *Suamet.* The termination *met,* is generally confined to *ego, tu,* and *sui*; occasionally however we find *memmet, meamet, meimet.*

3 *Prorsus,* "in short." See note on c. 15.

4 *Neque dicere neque facere,* etc. "reckless in every thing he said or did:" not merely careless, but wanton and desperate: as Vell. ii. 95. Clodius qui neque dicendi neque faciendi ullum nisi quem vellet nosset modum. Compare the same phrase in Liv. xxvi. 15.

5 *Stupri consuetudo,* "criminal intimacy." The verb *consuescere* is always used, absolutè, in a bad sense, but the noun is indifferent: hence *stupri* is required here to complete the sense.

6 *Maria montesque.* The commentators have collected passages where "seas and mountains of gold" are spoken of hyperbolically: as e.g. montes auri polliceri, χρυσίου πόντος, &c. Persius, ii. 65. uses *montes,* absolutè, for "heaps of gold:" Cratero magnos promittere montes.

7 *Obnoxia,* scil. *amori, affectui*: as Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 6: i.q. *morigera,* "obedient." So in Seneca, *obnoxius domino.*

8 *Insolentiæ,* "unusual audacity." Comp. Hor. *Epod.* 16. extr. Meæque terra cedat insolentiæ.

9 *Haud occultum habuit,* "did not keep it secret:" the phrase expresses continuance of action, and so far differs from the simple *haud occultavit.*

10 *Sublato auctore,* "leaving out

tilinæ conjuratione quæ quoque modo[1] audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia[2] æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant[3], si eum, quamvis egregius[4], homo novus[5] adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere[6].

XXIV. Igitur, comitiis habitis[7], consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primo populares conjurationis[8] concusserat. Neque tamen

the name of her informant." (In English the pres. part. is preferred in such phrases to the past, which latter is usual in Latin). Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 44. id nomen ex omnibus libris tollatur. ii. 24. Cæpionem de oratione sua sustulit.

¹ *Quæ quoque modo*, for *quæ et quo modo:* as in *Jugur.* 30. Comp. also *quid ubique*, *Catil.* 21. Or it may be taken for *quocunque modo*, implying the shifts she used to indicate her means of information while concealing the real fact which would have compromised Curius.

² *Invidia*, activè, "with prejudice against Cicero."

³ *Æstuabat...credebant.* Observe the sing. and plur. both connected with the noun of number; and comp. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 24. ut quis ex longinquo advenerat miracula narrabant.

⁴ *Quamvis egregius*, "ever so excellent:" i. e. in the estimation of the hearer, not of the speaker, so as to retain the force of *vis* from *volo:* "as excellent as ever you choose."

⁵ *Homo novus*, "a new man:" a term of disparagement applied to candidates for public office, whose families were not ennobled by having attained any of the curule magistracies. Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* οἱ ἀπὸ γένους δόξαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀρχόμενοι δὲ γνωρίζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν. Cicero frequently refers to his own want of nobility, and to the slur it entailed upon him, as *Phil.* vi. 6. quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos, a se ortum, hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus prætulistis. Comp. the celebrated panegyric upon him in Juvenal, viii. 226:

Hic novus Arpinas ignobilis et modo Romæ
Municipalis eques.

⁶ *Post fuere*, "were postponed." The words should be written separately, as in *Catil.* 53. ante Romanos fuisse.

⁷ *Comitiis habitis.* The consular comitia, or assembly of the centuries for the election of consuls, were held generally in June or July, six months before the consuls-designate entered upon their office.

⁸ *Populares conjurationis*, "the associates in the plot;" *popularis* has

Catilinæ furor minuebatur: sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam[1], Fæsulas[2] ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps[3] fuit belli faciendi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primo ingentes sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant[4]; post, ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui, neque luxuriæ, modum fecerat[5], æs alienum grande conflaverant: per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia[6] urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ[7] facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro[8], liberis[9] satis fortunata fuit; litteris Græcis atque Latinis docta[10];

no bad sense, and should not be rendered by "accomplices." See above, c. 22.

¹ *Pecuniam ... sumptam mutuam:* money taken up by way of loan. *Mutuus*, from *muto*, used in its primary meaning, i. e. "exchanged."

² *Fæsulæ;* the modern Fiesole, an ancient Etruscan city on a hill, two miles to the north of the modern Florence.

³ *Princeps*, "the first to commence military operations." Cæs. *Bell. Gall.* vii. 2. Carnutes principes se ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur.

⁴ *Sumptus ... toleraverant*, "had met, though with difficulty, their lavish expenditure by, &c."

⁵ *Modum fecerat:* i. q. *finem attulerat*, "had put an end to."

⁶ *Servitia*, "slaves." The abstract for the concrete.

⁷ *Virilis audaciæ.* Comp. Vell. i. 1. virilis animi fœmina. Flor. iv. 5. virilis militiæ uxor.

⁸ *Viro:* scil. Decimus Junius Brutus (see *Catil.* 40); he had been consul A.U. 677.

⁹ *Liberis.* One of her sons was M. Junius Brutus Albinus, *legatus* to Julius Cæsar in Gaul, and afterwards one of his assassins.

¹⁰ *Docta.* Observe the triple construction, with the abl., the infin., and the accus.: unless *psallere*, *multa alia* (*facere*), depend upon *solebat*, or some such verb understood. Compare *posse versus facere*, below.

psallere, saltare[1] elegantius, quam necesse est probæ[2]; multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ[3] sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus[4] atque pudicitia fuit[5]: pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; lubidine sic accensa[6] ut sæpius peteret[7] viros quam peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat[8], cædis conscia

1 *Psallere et saltare.* Some MSS. read also *canere* or *cantare*. *Psallere* is to sing to the lyre, *canere* to sing simply.

2 *Elegantius, quam necesse est probæ.* The ancient Romans regarded dancing and singing as accomplishments exhibited for the entertainment of others. Hence they were always connected in their minds with servile or histrionic performances. The fashion of dancing for amusement, or to contribute to social festivity among themselves, was learnt at a later period from the Greeks. In the last century of the republic, some of the most distinguished senators were noted for their excellence in dancing, but not without exciting much contempt from grave censors. (See Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 10): and Horace stigmatizes the fashion of teaching young women the soft Ionian dances. Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos matura virgo, et fingitur artubus. *Od.* iii. 6. 26. Sallust by the word *necesse* seems to admit that the practice was tolerated in his time, but regarded with jealousy. *Probæ:* i.q. *pudicæ*. Hor. *Epod.* 17. 40. tu pudica, tu proba. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* oris probi, animi inverecundi.

3 *Instrumenta luxuriæ,* "the means of corruption," or "vice."

4 *Decus,* "good name, honour." Comp. *Jugur.* 4. decus atque libertatem gratificari.

5 *Fuit.* Many MSS. read *fuere;* which is an attempt to correct a supposed incorrectness in the construction of the sense. The sing. *fuit* is defended by *Jugur.* 18. ea loca quæ proxime Carthaginem Numidia appellatur, not appellantur. Ovid, *Art. Am.* iii. 222. Quas geritis vestes sordida lana fuit.

6 *Lubidine sic accensa,* scil. *Sempronia,* not the abl. abs., though the phrase *accendi* may be applied to passions, as well as to persons. *Jugur.* 6. accensa studia.

7 *Peteret,* "courted." Comp. Propert. ii. 16. 27. Quum te jam multi peterent, tu me una petisti. Senec. *Medea,* 218. petebant tunc meos thalamos proci, Qui nunc petuntur.

8 *Creditum abjuraverat,* "had forsworn a trust." Among the Romans, the absence of facilities for bartering and exchange rendered it necessary to keep hoards of gold and silver, and these it was often requisite to entrust to the care of friends. The facility of breaking such engagements caused their faithful fulfilment to be regarded as an eminent virtue. Comp. Juvenal, xiii. 60:

Nunc si depositum non infitietur amicus,
Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine follem,
Prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
Quæque coronata lustrari debeat agna.

fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat[1]. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum[2]: posse[3] versus facere, jocum movere[4], sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci[5]: prorsus multæ facetiæ multusque lepos[6] inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus[7] in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed

1 *Præceps abierat:* a combination of two phrases; *præceps ire,* "to fall headlong;" but *abire,* "to stray from the right path." A man is said *in alia omnia abire,* who digresses from the subject under discussion. *Abire* is also connected with *præceps* in its ordinary sense in Livy, xli. 10. præceps in provinciam abiit.

2 *Haud absurdum,* "not contemptible." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45. of Poppæa, the wife of Nero, a passage evidently imitated from this: sermo comis, nec absurdum ingenium: modestiam præferre et lascivia uti; rarus in publicum egressus, idque velata parte oris. *Absurdus* means properly, "foolish," "not understanding," perhaps from *sardare,* which Festus explains by *intelligere*. So from *saltare, exsulto,* &c.

3 *Posse.* Supply *inerat,* or some similar verb, which the writer omits in order to pass abruptly to the summing up of the whole character: *prorsus...inerat.*

4 *Jocum movere,* "to raise a laugh." Comp. Hor. *Epist.* i. 19. 19. O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe Bilem, sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus. So, stomachum, fletum alicui movere, "to cause anger, draw tears," &c.

5 *Vel molli, vel procaci.* Both words of bad signification, the latter the stronger of the two, "either amatory or meretricious." Indeed Cicero says, *pro Cælio,* 20. ut non solum meretrix sed etiam procax videretur.

6 *Facetiæ...lepos,* "wit and grace."

7 *Nihilo minus,* "Having thus made his preparations for seizing power by force, if necessary, Catiline, *although repulsed in his previous attempt,* nevertheless sued again for the consulship of the year following," i. e. of the year 692. Kritz. Or, "although he had made preparations for seizing power, nevertheless he sued for the next year's consulship in the legitimate way:" Gerlach and others: which gives a simpler meaning. If he became consul-designate, he expected to have much influence with one of the actual consuls, viz. Antonius; for the actual consuls were in a great degree dependent upon their successors for the salary, retinue, and military force, with which they were sent to their provinces.

omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus, aut astutiæ[1] deerant. Namque, a principio consulatus sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc[2], collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ[3] perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque petitio, neque insidiæ quas consuli in campo[4] fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quæ occulte tentaverat, aspera fœdaque evenerant[5].

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium[6] Fæsulas atque in

[1] *Dolus aut astutiæ.* No slur is intended in the word *dolus*, which meant, in the best Latinity, "contrivance," whether in a good or a bad sense. Afterwards the sense became restricted. Comp. Ulpian, *Dig.* iv. 3. Veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant, et pro solertia hoc nomen accipiebant, maxime si adversus hostem latronemve aliquis machinetur. Comp. also Gellius, xii. 9; and Festus, who thus explains the law phrase, *sine dolo malo.*

[2] *Ad hoc,* "in addition."

[3] *Pactione provinciæ.* The consuls generally chose by lot between the provinces of the Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia. The former was important from its proximity to the city, but the latter more attractive from its greater extent and wealth. Cicero, having obtained Macedonia, transferred it to his colleague, which was considered an act of great generosity. But Cicero did not intend to take a province at all: he preferred remaining in the city, where his engagements as an advocate ensured him riches and consideration. Antonius eventually succeeded to the province of Macedonia, which he governed for two years, and was recalled and impeached for extortion, and also charged with complicity with Catiline. He was defended by Cicero, but condemned and banished.

[4] *In campo,* "in the campus Martius," where the election was held. This attempt is referred to by Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 5, where he says that Catiline sought to kill not only him, as actual consul, but also the competitors for the ensuing consulship.

[5] *Aspera fœdaque evenerant.* The adject. for the adverb. Comp. *Jugur.* 63. cuncta prospera eventura; but *Catil.* 52. bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt.

[6] *C. Manlium...dimisit.* Manlius must have returned to Rome, for he is mentioned c. 24, as already at Fæsulæ, unless the writer has forgotten himself.

eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam, Camertem[1], in agrum Picenum[2], C. Julium[3] in Apuliam[4] dimisit; præterea alium alio, quem ubique[5] opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri: consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse cum telo esse[6], item alios jubere[7]: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque festinare[8], vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte[9] conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam[10]: ibique[11], multa de ignavia eorum

[1] *Camertem:* of Camerinuum, a town in Umbria, near the borders of Picenum.

[2] *Picenum,* a district between the Apennines and the Adriatic, from the river Aternus on the south to the Æsis on the north.

[3] *C. Julium.* About this Julius nothing more is known: he was probably not a Cæsar. The Julian gens was already widely spread by clientship.

[4] *Apuliam.* A region south-east of Picenum, bordering on the Adriatic, and extending to the Iapygian promontory, the eastern extremity of Italy.

[5] *Quem ubique.* See notes on c. 21, and 23.

[6] *Cum telo esse,* "to wear arms:" forbidden by the Twelve Tables, and by later laws. It became however common in these times, and was again prohibited by a law of Pompeius in his sole consulship, A.U. 702. The conspirators who murdered Cæsar carried daggers in the case which belonged to the *stylus. Cum telo esse* is the antique formula. Cic. *pro Milon.* 4. ipsa lex esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat. Comp. *in Catil.* i. 6; and the phrases *esse cum toga, cum imperio.*

[7] *Jubere,* i. e. *cum telo esse.*

[8] *Festinare,* "he was busy."

[9] *Intempesta nocte,* "late at night." Servius, *in Virg. Æn.* iii. 587, explains this phrase, nox intempesta dicta est media, tanquam inactuosa; "unseasonable for action." Macrob. *Sat.* i. 3. non idonea rebus gerendis.

[10] *Per M. Porcium Læcam.* It appears from Cicero that the meeting was held in the house of Læca. The time of meeting is indicated by Cicero *pro Sulla.* 18. ea nocte quæ consecuta est posterum diem nonarum Novembris, 6—7 Nov. 691 = 11 Jan. B.C. 62. (allowing for the error in the calendar before its reformation by Julius Cæsar.)

[11] *Ibi:* may mean *apud eum,* or

questus, docet, "se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capienda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: cum suis consiliis multum obficere."

XXVIII. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Varguntcius, senator [1], constituere ea nocte paullo post [2], cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam, dolum qui parabatur enunciat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti [3], tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria [4] plebem sollicitare, eges-

better, *eo conventu*. Comp. *Catil.* 5. ibique juventutem exercuit: scil. in illis rebus.

[1] *L. Varguntcius Senator.* Cicero says they were both knights; *in Catil.* i. 4. reperti sunt duo equites Rom. qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese illa ipsa nocte paullo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur. Appian and Plutarch both give different names from Sallust. This discrepancy in the evidence is not unimportant, as regards the credibility of the story as told by Sallust and Cicero.

[2] *Paullo post:* scil. *post intempestam noctem:* i.e. *primo mane*, "very early in the morning." Clients and dependents who came to salute their patrons placed themselves at their doors before day-break in their eagerness to anticipate one another. Virgil says simply, Mane salutantes; but Juvenal, Sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore quo se Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootæ. Symmachus in the 4th century speaks of keeping awake all night for the purpose: Nondum ante januam eminentium potestatum vigilem noctem salutator expertus es. *Epist.* viii.

[3] *Janua prohibiti.* Comp. *Jugur.* Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit: "kept out of the city by the walls."

[4] *In Etruria.* The Etruscans had been spoiled and massacred by Sulla, for their adherence to the Marian party. See Florus, iii. 21. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19. They had risen against the Senate immediately after Sulla's death, when Lepidus headed a movement against the existing government. See Florus, iii. 22. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* i. 14.

tate simul, ac dolore injuriæ, novarum rerum cupidam, quod, Sullæ dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis [1], quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. Ea cum Ciceroni nunciarentur, ancipiti malo [2] permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert [3], jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet [4], senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui

Etruria et omnes reliquiæ belli arrectæ.

[1] *Ex Sullanis colonis*, "of the Sullan colonists," i.e. the veterans planted by Sulla on the estates of dispossessed Italian communities. See Cicero, *in Catil.* ii. 9.

[2] *Ancipiti malo*, "the double calamity;" i.e. the plot within the city, and the insurrection in Etruria, &c. Comp. *Jugur.* 67. neque caveri anceps malum posse.

[3] *Rem ad Senatum refert:* a technical phrase; "he moves a resolution in the senate concerning the affair:" the more usual form being *referre de aliqua re ad Sen.*, with the same meaning. Comp. a third form, *Catil.* 50. Consul convocato Senatu refert quid de his fieri placeat qui in custodiam traditi erant: "submits a resolution to the pleasure of the Senate." This was a. d. xii. Kal. Nov. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 3. meministine me ante diem xii. Kal. Nov. dicere in Senatu certo die fore in armis qui dies futurus esset a. d. viii. Kal. Novembres? The decree which followed was given on xi. Kal. Nov. = 22 Oct. 691 = 26 Dec. 63 B.C., as appears from the notice of Asconius, who says that the first oration against Catiline was delivered, cum octavus decimus dies esset postquam factum est Senatus consultum, etc. The *Orat. in Catil.* 1. was delivered on vi. Id. Nov. = 8 Nov. 691 = 12 Jan. 62 B.C. See Fischer's *Ræmische Zeittäfeln.* This, it will be seen, was some days before the meeting in Porcius Læca's house, and the attempt to murder the consul.

[4] *Solet:* absol. for *fieri solet:* as *Catil.* 30. *Jugur.* 15. 25. 66.

maxima[1] permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque cives; domi militiæque[2] imperium atque judicium summum habere: aliter, sine populi jussu, nullius[3] earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies L. Sænius, senator, in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Fæsulis adlatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant; alii conventus fieri, arma portari[4], Capuæ atque in Apulia servile bel-

[1] *Ea potestas...maxima* etc. Observe the place which *maxima* holds in this sentence, removed from its substantive, and give it a *pregnant* sense: "This power, which is paramount to all, the Roman law allows the senate to confer upon the magistrate: the power, namely, of raising an army, &c." Such a decree was denominated *Senatus consultum ultimum*. This was equivalent to giving the consuls dictatorial power, and was far more convenient to the nobles than creating a dictator, which they had not ventured to do for 150 years, except in the case of Sulla.

[2] *Domi militiæque*. Ordinarily the consul exercised no military imperium within the city, but only in the camp: on these occasions the imperium was added to the judicium or jus juris dicendi, within the city also, i. e. the city was put under military law.

[3] *Nullius*. There is MS. authority for the genitive, and the common reading, *nulli*, can hardly stand, whether it be connected with *rerum*, or *consuli*. The meaning of the passage is: "except in the case of the senate using its prerogative to issue its ultimate decree, the consul has no *jus* of any kind, either separate or conjoined, but what he derives from the appointment of the people." The phrase *populi jussus* is equivocal. Properly it means the decree of the curies, by which, in early times, the imperium was conferred upon the kings, and after the establishment of the republic, upon the consuls, posterior to their election by the centuries. In process of time this became a mere form. But the phrase may be used loosely for the election itself, by which the consul became virtually invested with the jus juris dicendi, and jus imperandi beyond the walls. Sallust means perhaps to reserve to the people the right of extending this jus in extreme cases to paramount authority within the city; which however they never ventured to claim, though they strongly objected to its exercise by the senate.

[4] *Arma portari*. Gaius distinguishes *ferre*, *portare* and *agere*: Ferri propriè dicimus quæ quis suo corpore bajulat, portari ea quæ quis in jumento secum ducit, agi ea quæ animalia sunt: *portare* is also emphatic or poetic for *ferre*.

lum moveri. Igitur, senati decreto[1], Q. Marcius Rex[2] Fæsulas, Q. Metellus Creticus[3] in Apuliam circumque loca[4], missi: hi utrique[5] ad urbem imperatores[6] erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia[7] paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed prætores, Q. Pompeius Rufus[8] Ca-

[1] *Senati decreto*. This ancient form of the genitive is sanctioned by Nonius, viii. 10; and Donatus on Terence *Andr.* ii. 2. 28. notices that Sallust used it. Tumulti also occurs. *Catil.* 59.

[2] *Q. Marcius Rex:* consul with L. Cæcilius Metellus, A.U. 686, and afterwards proconsul in Cilicia. Cicero praises his courage and military skill, *in Pison.* 23. Ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges. Suet. *Cal.* 6. Marcius and Martius are probably the same words, as Porcius, Accius, nuncius, etc., are written indifferently Portius, Attius, nuntius. This common substitution of *c* for *t* shews that *t* before *i* was pronounced soft.

[3] *Q. Metellus Creticus:* consul with L. Hortensius A.U. 685: he subdued Crete as proconsul.

[4] *Circumque loca*, "the neighbouring regions:" *circum* and *circa* are thus used absolutely for *quæ circ. sunt*, very commonly in Livy. See ix. 11; xxiv. 3. The MSS. read *circumque ea loca*, and the emendation is due to Cortius, who saw that the reading must have arisen from the transcribers' ignorance of the idiom. *Ea*, meaning Apulia, would make the passage absurd. *Loca* is governed by *in*.

[5] *Hi utrique*, for the more correct form, *horum uterque*. So *Catil.* 5. quæ utraque. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 11. pater filiam, avia neptem, illa utrosque intuens, for utrumque.

[6] *Ad urbem imperatores*. These words are to be connected together: generals returned from their provinces, and waiting outside the walls for the day of their triumph, before which they were not allowed to enter the city; or who, having received the imperium, had not yet completed their levies. Asconius explains the phrase, *Act. in Verr.* i. 15. sic dici solet de iis qui cum potestate provinciali aut nuper a provincia revertissent, aut nondum in provinciam profecti essent.

[7] *Calumnia*, "machination, cabal," from an old word *calvo*, *decipio*, Priscian; who cites a passage from the *Historia* of Sallust: contra ille calui ratus.

[8] *Q. Pompeius Rufus*. This man, who was prætor A.U. 691, is to be distinguished from another bearing the same names, tribune of the people A.U. 702, who made himself conspicuous as a turbulent partizan of Cn. Pompeius, in that year sole consul. Rufus, the prætor, is praised by Cicero for his moderation and integrity. After serving the state in the

puam, Q. Metellus Celer[1] in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum[2], "uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quæ contra rem publicam facta erat, præmium servo libertatem et sestertia centum[3]; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et sestertia ducenta;" itemque decrevere, "uti gladiatoriæ familiæ[4] Capuam

affair of Catiline, he obtained the proconsular government of Africa. There were two families belonging to the *gens Pompeia*, distinguished by the surnames Rufus and Strabo. Cn. Pompeius Magnus was son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo. The prænomens of the Rufi, so far as they are known to us, were Aulus and Quintus; those of the Strabones, Cnæus and Sextus.

1 *Q. Metellus Celer:* of the *gens Cæcilia*, one of the most numerous and widely ramified of the great Roman houses. One great branch of it bore the surname Metellus; but this family again was subdivided, and its various offsets were distinguished by additional surnames; such as *Pius*, *Nepos* and *Celer*. Metellus Celer and Metellus Nepos were brothers, both sons of a Nepos. A story is told by Plutarch, that this Celer received his surname for the celerity with which he provided a show of gladiators for the solemnity of his father's funeral. But the surname Celer was borne by another Metellus before him, by whom he was probably adopted. The prætor Celer became afterwards consul, A.U. 694.

2 *Permissum*, "authority was given." Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 2. senatusconsulto consulibus permissa respublica, "put in charge of the consuls." Lucan. i. 595. Pontifices sacri quibus est permissa potestas.

3 *Sestertia centum*, "one hundred sestertia," i. e. "one hundred thousand sestertii (sesterces)." The *sestertius* was a Roman coin, one fourth of the denarius (10 asses), and therefore equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses. Hence the name, which is an abbreviation of *semis tertius* (scil. *nummus*); i. e. 1 an as, 2 an as, and 3 a half as. "Hence the symbol HS or IIS, which is used to designate the sestertius. It stands for either LLS (Libra Libra et Semis) or for IIS, the two I's merely forming the numeral *two* (scil. *asses* or *libræ*), and the whole being, in either case, equivalent to *dupondius et semis*."

		£	s.	d.	f.
"The value of the sestertius up to the time of Augustus	=	0	0	2	·5
.........of the sestertium	=	8	17	1	
After Augustus,					
the sestertius...........	=	0	0	1	3·5
the sestertium	=	7	16	3."	

See Smith's *Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*.

4 *Gladiatoriæ familiæ*, "troops of gladiators." It was a commercial speculation to maintain a number of swordsmen, trained in schools (*ludi*) by masters of the art (*lanistæ*), and to let these out to the magistrates for public shows. The gladiators were at first captives or criminals; but persons were found to offer themselves voluntarily for pay; and it became usual to affix a period (three years) for their service; after which, if they survived, they received a staff (*rude donati*) in token of their discharge. The large numbers of these gladiators collected, particularly at Capua, became an object of alarm to the government in times of disturbance. On this occasion their schools were dispersed in various towns as a measure of precaution.

et in cetera municipia distribuerentur, pro cujusque opibus; Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus[1] præessent."

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies erat: ex summa lætitia atque lascivia, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnes tristitia invasit: festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus, reipublicæ magnitudine[2], belli timor insolitus incesserat[3], adflictare[4] sese; manus supplices ad cœlum tendere; miserari[5] parvos

1 *Minores magistratus.* The ædiles, quæstors and triumvirs, appointed for various purposes. The inferior magistrates were elected by the comitia tributa, the superior by the centuriata. Aul. Gell. xiii. 15. The tribunes of the people were not strictly magistrates. The establishment of the watch is mentioned by Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 1. Augustus first instituted a regular police, *cohors vigilum*, in Rome.

2 *Reipublicæ magnitudine*, "from the greatness of the Republic," the ablat. of the cause, i.q. *propter reip. magnitudinem*. Comp. *Jugur*. 42. Gracchis cupidine victoriæ haud satis moderatus animus fuit.

3 *Incesserat*, omitted without reason in most editions on account of the dat. *quibus*. But comp. Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 74. exercitui Cæsaris tantus incessit dolor. Liv. iv. 57. cura patribus incessit. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 36. incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia. Cicero, *ad Div.* xvi. 12, says, mirus invaserat furor improbis. Translate: "assailed by fear of war, to which from the greatness of the republic they had long been unaccustomed."

4 *Adflictare:* properly, "to dash against," as of ships driven on shore, the conflict of armies, &c.; but it does not seem to occur in the sense of *plangere* or *prosternere*, as an act of lamentation. Construe it metaphorically, "were afflicted," "distressed."

5 *Miserari*, "lamented over." *Misereri*, "to feel compassion in the

liberos; rogitare; omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat[1], tametsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia[2] interrogatus erat ab L. Paullo[3]. Postremo, dissimulandi caussa, et ut sui[4] expurgandi[5], sicuti jurgio[6] lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam[7] atque utilem[8] reipublicæ; quam postea scriptam

mind;" *miserari*, "to express compassion."

[1] *Eadem illa movebat*, "continued plotting as before."

[2] *Lege Plautia.* A law *de vi*, i. e. against public violence, carried by M. Plautius Sylvanus, a tribune of the plebs, A. U. 665. It made the offence of wearing arms in the city, and occupying the public places with an armed force, capital, in the Roman sense, i. e. involving loss of *caput*, or civil condition, whether by death, or as an alternative, by self-banishment.

[3] *L. Paullus.* This was L. Æmilius Lepidus Paullus, brother of the triumvir M. Lepidus, consul A.U. 704. He was proscribed by the triumvirs, but escaped death.

[4] *Et ut sui.* The MSS. fluctuate between this and the much easier readings, *aut sui; ac sui; vel sui; quasi sui.* In such cases the harder construction is generally to be preferred, as the more likely to have been altered by the transcribers. Construe: "And as if to clear himself." *Ut* is thus used for *quasi* by Cicero, *de Orat.* i. 50. neque ea ut sua possedisse, sed ut aliena libasse: and elsewhere.

[5] *Sui expurgandi.* The gen. of the pronoun is governed by the gerund. Thus with a genit. plural: pœnarum solvendi tempus. Cic. *de Invent.* ii. 2. ex magna copia nobis fuit exemplorum eligendi potestas.

[6] *Jurgio*, "a frivolous and malicious charge."

[7] *Luculentam*, "splendid, admirable:" used of orations in this sense by Cicero, *ad Att.* xii. 21. Cato verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem prehenderat.

[8] *Utilem*, "that did good service." *Utilis* has frequently an emphatic sense, "of admirable service." Comp. Ovid. *Metam.* v. 212. Et pedibus Pterelas et naribus utilis Agre. Propert. iii. 7. 19. Hic satus ad pacem, hic castrensibus utilis armis. In the same manner, *non utilis*, "pernicious." Ovid. *Met.* xv. 103. postquam non utilis auctor Victibus invidit. Lucan. x. 26. (Alexander), non utile mundo Editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub vero Esse viro. There is therefore no cold disparagement, as has been supposed, implied in the phrase, luculentam atque utilem reipubl. Sallust here refers to the first speech against Catiline.

edidit[1]. Sed, ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda[2] omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne æstimarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis[3] urbis Romæ." Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam[4] vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam[5]."

XXXII. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit; ibi

[1] *Quam postea scriptam edidit.* Sallust does not pretend to give Cicero's speeches, because they were published by himself.

[2] *Ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda*, i. q. *pro dissimulatione sua.* Comp. *Jugur.* 7. Jugurtha ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio.

[3] *Inquilinus civis:* from *incolo*, "a sojourner in a city;" as a lodger in a house, one who has no rights of possession. This is an unjust sarcasm on Cicero, who was a genuine citizen of Rome; but the proud patrician sneers at the plebeians generally, as an adventitious class.

[4] *Parricidam*, "unnatural murderer." This epithet is applied to any monstrous criminal: as *Catil.* 14. omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis. But more particularly to traitors against the state, slayers of their country. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 7. Te patria odit ac metuit, ac jam diu te nihil judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare. Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 85. Hostem et parricidam Vitellium vocantes.

[5] *Ruina restinguam.* Just as a conflagration may be extinguished by the falling or pulling down of the house. Cicero, *pro Murena*, 25, cites the same phrase as used by Catiline: quum Catoni respondisset si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina restincturum. This reply, according to Cicero, was made not to himself, but to Cato, who probably had followed him in the debate.

multa secum ipse volvens; quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant[1], et ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factum[2] credens, exercitum augere, ac prius, quam legiones scriberentur, antecapere quæ bello usui forent; nocte intempesta[3] cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, cædem incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem[4] cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum[5]. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero[6] ad Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis[7] hujuscemodi:

[1] *Quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant.* Consuli is governed by procedebant, the *dativus commodi*, rather harshly applied; "since his plans did not succeed with regard to the consul." The same construction follows immediately, *insidias consuli maturent.*

[2] *Optimum factum;* simply, "the best thing:" *factu*, which many MSS. read, would express more fully, "the best thing to be done." So *bonum factum,* "good!" Comp. Suet. *Jul.* Bonum factum: ne quis Senatori novo curiam monstrare velit. It was a common heading for proclamations. Plaut. *Pœn.* prolog. Bonum factum; edicta ut servetis mea.

[3] *Nocte intempesta,* "at dead of night." This was the night of the 8th—9th of November, A.U. 691 = 12 13 Jan. B.C. 62. Cicero delivered the second Catilinarian, postridie quam Catilina profugit, v. Id. Nov. = 9 Nov.

[4] *Prope diem,* "shortly:" scil. *ad prope diem,* i. e. *ad diem qui prope est; ad proximum diem.* For this adjectival use of the prep. comp. Hor. *Od.* iv. 6. 3. Trojæ prope victor altæ Phthius Achilles, "the nearly-conqueror of Troy." Lucan, vi. 363. Tuus, Œneu, Pene gener, "thy almost-son-in-law."

[5] *Accessurum:* understand, *pollicetur.*

[6] *Ex suo numero,* "of his band:" *numerus,* in its figurative sense of order, rank, class, &c., as in *numerus deorum, numerus beatorum.* Comp. Lucr. v. 180:

Qui nunquam vero vitæ gustavit amorem
Nec fuit in numero (scil. viventium).

Virg. *Æn.* v. 305:

Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.

[7] *Cum mandatis,* "with instructions." The *command* refers to the person charged to deliver the message, not to the person to whom the message is to be delivered.

XXXIII. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate fœneratorum[1], plerique patriæ[2], sed omnes fama atque fortunis, expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, lege uti[3], neque, amisso patrimonio, liberum corpus habere; tanta sævitia fœneratorum atque prætoris[4] fuit. Sæpe majores vestrum[5], miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis

[1] *Feneratores.* More correct than *fœneratores,* as derived from *feo,* i. e. *gigno.*

[2] *Patriæ.* The same double construction with gen. and dat. occurs *Jugur.* 84.

[3] *Lege uti,* "to have the benefit of the law." The laws of the XII tables fixed the highest rate of interest at $\frac{1}{12}$th per ann. of the sum borrowed, $= 8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. This was called *unciarium fenus,* the *uncia* being $\frac{1}{12}$th of the *as.* This was reduced to one half by the consuls Manlius and Plautius, A.U. 407. Liv. vii. 27. These enactments were generally disregarded: in the time of Horace money could fetch as much as 5 per cent. per month. See *Sat.* i. 2. 14. Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 16. But the passage in the text refers more particularly to the lex Pætelia Papiria, A.U. 428. by which imprisonment for debt was forbidden. See Liv. viii. 28. At an earlier period the creditor had power not only to confine his debtor, but to sell him into slavery. Aulus Gellius, xx. 1, cites a law of the XII tables which enacted that if there were more creditors than one they might cut up the debtor's body in due proportion: partes secanto: si plus minusve secuerunt se fraude esto. Gellius understood this law literally, and it has generally been interpreted accordingly. Some, however, maintain that the *sectio* refers only to a division of the debtor's effects. Perhaps it was a rude way of expressing the idea of strict retribution, like the provisions of the Mahometan law of retaliation, not meant to be actually enforced.

[4] *Atque prætoris.* The prætor urbanus was the principal judge in all civil processes, and the poor debtors complained that he favoured their wealthier creditors. In the *edictum* which he issued on assuming his office he declared the principles on which he should administer justice, and frequently trenched upon the provisions of actual law.

[5] *Vestrum.* The passage was thus

suis inopiæ opitulati sunt: ac novissime, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis[1], argentum ære solutum est[2]. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit[3]. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortales sunt: sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum anima simul, amittit[4]. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit, restituatis: neve eam nobis necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus, quonam modo[5] ulti maxime sanguinem nostrum pereamus.

read by A. Gellius (xx. 6), though many MSS. give *vestri*. Observe that *nostri, vestri* are genitives sing. of the possessives *noster, vester*, not genitives plural of *nos, vos*, as the grammars for the most part assert. In partition *nostrum* must be used, as *primus nostrum, multi nostrum*, not *nostri*. On the other hand, *amor nostri*, where being or condition, *negotii*, may be understood. So where *nos* is the subject, *pars nostrum amat:* but *vivas memor nostri, noster* being the object.

[1] *Boni*, "good citizens."

[2] *Argentum ære solutum est.* The silver coin, the *sestertius*, was paid with the brass coin, the *as*. This refers to an adjustment of debts made by the government in the year U.C. 668, when obligations were cancelled by the payment of one-fourth of the amount (quadrante capitis, Vell. ii. 23.) The sestertius (i. e. semistertius) originally = 2½ asses; but after the second Punic war it was made = 4 asses. See Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 13. Hannibale urgente, Q. Fabio Maximo dictatore asses unciales facti, placuitque denarium sedecim assibus permutari, sestertium quaternis. The weight of the as was gradually reduced from its original 12 ounces to 1; and the denarius, properly ten asses, was made = sixteen, the sestertius = four asses.

[3] *Secessit.* On three or more occasions the plebs removed in a body from the city. See Livy, ii. 32 (A.U. 260); iii. 50 (A.U. 305); *Epit.* xi. (A.U. 466); Sallust, *Jugur.* 31, speaks of two secessions to the Aventine. They were prevailed upon to return by concessions accorded them by the patricians.

[4] *Amittit*, "parts with," *amittere*, to let a thing be taken from one, *perdere*, to throw it away.

[5] *Quonam modo*, "how we may sell our lives as dearly as possible."

XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis [1] discedant[2], Romam supplices proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit." At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optimo cuique[3], litteras mittit: "Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium[4] proficisci; non quo[5] sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur." Ab his longe diversas litteras Q. Catulus[6] in senatu recitavit,

[1] *Vellent ... discedant.* Observe the change of construction. "Marcius said, If they *wished* to make any suit to the senate, *let* them lay down their arms." Comp. c. 32. quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment.

[2] *Ab armis discedant:* i. e. a bello, "abandon their hostile attitude."

[3] *Optimo cuique*, "the most distinguished among the nobles." So the highest aristocracy were called the *optimates*.

[4] *Massiliam in exilium:* comp. Cicero, *in Catil.* ii. 6. Massilia, the modern Marseilles, was founded by the Phocæans (Thuc. i. 13) on the south coast of Gaul, about 600 B.C., and became celebrated for its commerce and civilization. When the Romans gained a footing on the further side of the Alps, they formed an alliance with Massilia, and allowed it to retain a nominal independence and sovereignty over a small district on the coast. The Roman province being governed by proconsuls sent there by the oligarchical party, and all their influence brought to bear upon the allies of the republic, Massilia became firmly attached to the senate; and Catiline, in pretending to choose it for his place of exile, intimated that he was falsely accused of hostility to the ruling faction. Exile among the Romans was banishment to a place beyond the direct control of the commonwealth, but any allied city was allowed to receive exiles, however near it might be to Rome. Gradually all the free states were absorbed into the provinces, and there ceased to be any place of asylum for exiles within the frontiers of the empire.

[5] *Non quo.* An elliptic expression for *non eo quod.*

[6] *Q. Catulus:* the princeps or premier of the senate, consul A.U.

quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat: earum exemplum[1] infra scriptum:

XXXV. "L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meæ[2] tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem[3] in novo consilio[4] non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa[5] proponere decrevi, quam, me dius fidius[6], veram licet cognoscas[7]. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, statum dignitatis[8] non obtinebam, publicam miserorum caussam pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin æs alienum meis nominibus[9] ex possessionibus solvere possem,

676. He was the most illustrious of the oligarchical party both in rank and reputation. Catulus was of the Lutatian, properly Luctatian, *gens*.

[1] *Exemplum*, "a copy."

[2] *Commendationi meæ*, "to this recommendation of my interests to your care."

[3] *Defensionem*, "judicial defence;" *satisfactionem*, "private explanation."

[4] *In novo consilio*, "under the circumstances of my new design;" i. e. his repairing to the camp of Manlius, and professing to assert the claims of the injured debtors.

[5] *Conscientia de culpa*, "consciousness of guilt;" as Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 24: his de rebus conscium esse Pisonem.

[6] *Me dius fidius;* i. e. *ita me Dius*, i. e. *Jovis filius* (*Hercules*), *juvet*. Some suppose there to be a Deus Fidius, from a passage in Plautus, *Asin.* i. 1. 8: per Dium Fidium quæris; but this appears to be a mock personification.

[7] *Licet cognoscas*, "you may ascertain if you please."

[8] *Statum dignitatis.* Cortius observes that *status* is the position a man holds, *gradus* that which he seeks, therefore proposes to substitute the latter for the former here; on the supposition that *status dignitatis* means the consulship which Catiline failed to *obtain.* It refers, however, to the position which Catiline already occupied. Translate: "I could not *maintain* the privilege of my high position, which authorised me to expect success in suing for the consulship." Comp. c. 18. Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere. *Obtinere;* to hold, keep, preserve.

[9] *Meis nominibus. Sumptum*, which occurs here in some MSS. is a gloss, to explain the construction: "debts contracted on my own account," "inscribed in the ledger with my name:" (*nomen* or *nomina* may be used indifferently), *alienis nom.* sub. *æs alienum sumptum*, "debts incurred as surety for others," "inscribed with others' names."

cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ, suis filiæque copiis, persolveret: sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos[1] videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum[2] sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuæque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto."

XXXVI. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino[3], dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat[4], cum fascibus[5] atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta; senatus "Catilinam et Manlium hostes[6] judicat; ceteræ multitu-

[1] *Honore honestatos.* Comp. Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 2. 106. quum me tanto honore honestas. Honestare laude, occurs in Cicero; honestare gloria in the *Jugur.* c. 10.

[2] *Alienatum*, "cast out." *Alienare* significat alienos reddere et e familia ejicere. Ruhnken on Ter. *Heaut.* v. 2. 26.

[3] *In agro Arretino.* Arretium, mod. Arezzo, lay almost on the direct road from Rome to Fæsulæ. This reading is therefore to be preferred to *Reatino*, which most editions follow. *Reate*, in the country of the Sabines, was far to the right.

[4] *Exornat*, "furnishes:" so, *classem exornare*, "to equip a fleet."

[5] *Cum fascibus.* The *fasces*, i. e. an axe in a bundle of rods, was the ensign of the higher magistracies of the city. This was accordingly an usurpation of official rank; as Plutarch says in his life of Cicero, c. 16. Cicero *in Catil.* ii. 6. quum arma, quum secures, quum fasces, quum tubas, quum signa militaria, quum aquilam illam argenteam scirem esse præmissam.

[6] *Hostes*, "public enemies," more properly *perduelles.* The word meant originally no more than "strangers," (comp. *hospes*). Cicero says of this change of signification, *de Off.* i. 12. illud etiam animadverto, quod qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigante. Hostis enim apud majores is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus. Gaius, *in Digest.* quos nos hostes appellamus eos veteres perduelles ap-

dini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude[1] liceret ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium condemnatis[2]." Præterea decernit, "uti consules delectum[3] habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet[4]; Cicero urbi præsidio sit." Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum: cui cum, ad occasum ab ortu[5] solis, omnia domita armis parerent; domi otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent[6]. Namque, duobus senati de-

pellabant, per eam adjectionem indicantes, cum quibus bellum erat. *Perduellis* then means a foreign enemy with whom there may be *bellum*, legitimate warfare; but the pirate, non est ex perduellium numero sed communis *hostis* omnium. Cic. *Off.* iii. 29. This is a further distinction, and in this sense the outlawed conspirator might be designated *hostis* more correctly than *perduellis*. *Duellum*, i. q. *bellum*, from the same root as *duo*, etc., signifying "division."

[1] *Sine fraude*, i. e. *sine damno*. Comp. Liv. i. 24. quod sine fraude mea populique Rom. fiat, facio. Dœderlein, Latein. Synonym. connects *fraus* with *ψεῦδος*, as *frigus* with *ψῦχος*, *fricare* with *ψάω*, *frendere* with *ψίνδεσθαι*, (i.g. *κλαίειν*, Hesychius) *friare* with *ψίειν*.

[2] *Præter...condemnatis:* the part. depends upon *liceret*, after which understand *iis: præter* adverbial, i. q. *præterquam*. Comp. Justin, xiii. 5. omnium civitatium exsules, præter cædis damnati, restituebantur. Suet. *Ner.* 56. religionum contemptor præter unius Deæ Syriæ.

[3] *Delectum:* levy of troops, not *dilectum*. The MSS. of Latin authors fluctuate in the orthography of this word. In this place, with one exception, they concur in *delectus*. But if there were such a word as *dilectus*, we should surely meet with it in the sense of *love*, as *dilectio*, which never occurs.

[4] *Persequi maturet.* Comp. Tac. *Hist.* v. 18. si Romana classis sequi maturasset, i. e. celeriter secuta esset. *Jugur.* 36. 79.

[5] *Ad occasum ab ortu.* Quintilian remarks of the proper order of words; est et naturalis ordo, ut viros ac fœminas, diem ac noctem, ortum et occasum dicas, potius quam retrorsum. *Inst. Orat.* ix. 4. 23. But the reverse order occurs sometimes, as in Lucr. and Virg. noctes atque dies: Mela, iii. 5. ad occasum ab oriente currens. Seneca, *Epist.* 89. amnes usque ad ostium a fonte.

[6] *Perditum irent*, "sought to destroy:" implying wish and endeavour to effect an object. Comp. *Catil.* 52. *Jugur.* 31. 85.

cretis[1], ex tanta multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi, uti tabes[2], plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solum illis aliena[3] mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis fuerant; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinæ incepta probabat. Idadeo[4] more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur[5], quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero[6] præceps ierat[7] multis de caussis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime præstabant[8];

[1] *Duobus senati decretis*, "notwithstanding the existence of two decrees:" the ablat. absol. expressing a condition or state. Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* iv. 6. nunc autem hoc tam gravi vulnere etiam illa quæ consenuisse videbantur recrudescunt. *Pro Arch.* 3. hac tanta celebritate famæ. Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* cetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala.

[2] *Uti tabes*, "like a contagion." Some MSS. read *atque uti tabes*: "and as it were contagion."

[3] *Aliena*, "estranged, hostile."

[4] *Id adeo.* The force of *adeo* is here emphatic, "in fact:" being a stonger affirmation of a previous proposition. Comp. *Jugur.* 66. eum imperium Numidiæ sine mora habiturum: id adeo mature posse evenire; and again 110, 111.

[5] *Aluntur*, etc., "they get their living without anxiety in tumults and seditions, because poverty wants little, and has nothing to lose." *Habetur*, i. q. *toleratur*: egentes facile vitam degunt.

[6] *Ea vero:* a demonstration, introduced for emphasis, changes the construction. Comp. for the force of the pronoun, *Catil.* 58. in fuga salutem sperare, ea vero dementia est. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 10. reliqua pars mundi, ea et ipsa tota natura fervida est.

[7] *Præceps ierat*, "had become utterly demoralized, or reckless." Comp. *Catil.* 25. luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat.

[8] *Præstabant*, "exceeded:" rarely used as here in a bad sense; but Comp. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 19. qui singulis vitiis excellunt.

item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis; postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; ii Romam, sicuti in sentinam[1], confluxerant. Deinde, multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod, ex gregariis militibus[2] alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites[3], uti regio victu atque cultu[4] ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabant. Præterea, juventus, quæ in agris, manuum mercede[5], inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus[6] excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerant[7]. Eos[8] atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum, homines egentes, malis moribus, maxima spe, reipublicæ juxta[9]

[1] *Sentinam. Sentina*, a sink, cesspool, hold of a ship. So Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19, speaking of the good effects anticipated from settling some of the urban population on public domains in Italy: et sentinam urbis exhauriri et Italiæ solitudinem frequentari posse arbitrabar. Also, *in Catil.* i. 5.

[2] *Ex gregariis militibus*, "of the common soldiers."

[3] *Ita divites.* Comp. *Catil.* 51. neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit.

[4] *Regio victu atque cultu*, "in regal luxury." The term *rex* was applied invidiously to citizens of extraordinary wealth and ostentatious manner of living. So *regum pueri:* the delicate children of the nobility. Pers. iii. 17.

[5] *Manuum mercede*, "with the wages of manual labour." Comp. Virg. *Æn.* viii. 409. Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva.

[6] *Privatis atque publicis largitionibus*, i. e. distributions of corn, oil, or wine, made by rich patrons to their clients; or by candidates for office, or actual magistrates to the people. Thus Crassus, after the defeat of Spartacus, when suing for the consulship, A. U. 683, feasted the Roman people at ten thousand tables. Public largesses had been given occasionally, and C. Gracchus introduced the sale of corn at low fixed prices to the citizens; but M. Cato first advised a regular gratuitous distribution, in the hope of withdrawing the needy citizens from the influence of the demagogues. The largess (five bushels, Sall. *Fr. Hist.*) was given monthly, Suet. *Oct.* 40.

[7] *Pratulerat:* depending upon *quæ*, as *toleraverat*.

[8] *Eos:* scil. *juvenes*, understood in *juventus:* the construction is broken, *juventus* being a nomin. absolute.

[9] *Juxta*, "not more for the advantage of the one than the other, but equally ill for both." Comp. *Catil.* 61. ita cuncti suæ atque hostium vitæ juxta pepercerant.

ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea, quorum, victoria Sullæ, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum[1] erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senati[2] partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quam minus valere ipsi, malebant. Id adeo malum[3] multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. Nam, postquam, Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus[4], tribunicia potestas restituta est[5];

[1] *Jus libertatis imminutum*, "treated as if they were neither citizens nor freemen," i. e. deprived of the privileges of the constitution. The families of the proscribed were incapacitated for holding public office by a Lex Cornelia, A. U. 673. Vell. ii. 28. exclusique paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum jure prohiberentur, simulque quod indignissimum est, senatorum filii et onera ordinis sustinerent et jura perderent. The rehabilitation of these persons was agitated for many years; defeated by Cicero in his consulship; and at last effected by Cæsar as dictator. See Plutarch, *Cæs.* 37 (A. U. 705); Suet. *Jul.* 75.

[2] *Aliarum atque senati. Atque* and *ac* are used after words of comparison, e. g. *idem, pars, similis, alius, æque, perinde, aliter, secus;* where the sense can only be rendered in English by "as," or "than." *Ut*, however, sometimes occurs with *atque*, as Cic. *in Verr.* i. 46. aliter atque ut edixerat; from which it may be surmised that the copula of comparison has dropped out of the idiom; and that *atque* had originally in its proper sense of "immediately," "just;" e. g. *hic facit idem atque (quod) ego*, he does just the same as I do.

[3] *Id adeo malum:* emphatic, "that evil, then;" or "that evil, great as it was:" namely, the inveterate jealousy of the commons towards the senate, dating at least from the times of the Gracchi, sixty or seventy years before.

[4] *Cn. Pompeio, M. Crasso Coss.* A. U. 684.

[5] *Tribunicia potestas restituta est.* Among the principal measures of Sulla for curbing the pretensions of the Marian or popular party at Rome, and securing to the senate the administration of affairs, was the restriction he placed upon the prerogative of the tribunes of the plebs. Comp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 100. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἶσα καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφήνας, καὶ νόμῳ κωλύσας μηδεμίαν ἄλλην τὸν δήμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἄρχειν. Liv. *Epit.* lxxxix. Tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne jus ferendarum legum ademit. The ancient right of *intercessio*, or a veto on motions in the senate, still remained to them. At the same time Sulla confined the comitia of the tribes to the election of the inferior magis-

homines adolescentes[1], summam potestatem[2] nacti, quibus ætas animusque ferox erat, cœpere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein, largiendo atque pollicitando, magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senati specie[3], pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti[4] populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia[5] certabant: neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

trates, forbidding it to enact laws or receive criminal appeals. All these prerogatives were restored by a *Lex Pompeia*, in the year above mentioned. Vell. ii. 30. Pompeius tribuniciam potestatem restituit, cujus Sulla imaginem sine re reliquerat.

[1] *Adolescentes.* Properly *adolescentia* extended from 15 to 30 years of age. But the term was frequently applied to persons of more advanced age. Thus Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 46, calls himself an *adolescens* in the time of his consulship, when he was 44 years of age. Sallust, speaking of Cæsar in his thirty-seventh year, calls him *adolescentulus*, *Catil.* 49. In this place *homines adolescentes* may be rendered "rising men;" that is, men who were beginning to become important political characters.

[2] *Summam potestatem:* meaning the tribunate, which since the *lex Pompeia* had become the most influential office in the state.

[3] *Senati specie*, "under pretence of supporting the authority of the senate," but really to maintain their own ascendancy. Comp. Lucan, ix. 206. non jam regnare pudebit, Nec color imperii, nec frons erit ulla senatus: "henceforth men will act the king without scruple, there will be no colour of legitimate command, nor pretence of senatorial authority."

[4] *Sicuti*, "as though." Comp. *Catil.* 31. sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret.

[5] *Potentia:* power, without respect to its legality, and generally in opposition to legitimate authority, *potestas*. Comp. *Catil.* 39. paucorum potentia crevit. Lucan, iv. *in fin.*

Jus licet in jugulos nostros *sibi fecerit ense*
Sylla *potens*, Mariusque ferox, et Cinna cruentus,
Cæsareæque domus series, cui *tanta potestas*
Concessa est; emere omnes, hic vendidit urbem.

XXXIX. Sed, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum[1] missus est; plebis opes imminutæ[2]; paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipsi innoxii[3], florentes, sine metu ætatem agere; ceteros[4] [que] judiciis terrere, quo plebem[5] in magistratu

[1] *Ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum.* The "maritime war" was that against the Cilician pirates, who infested the whole of the Mediterranean, and often made descents on land, even in Italy. Gabinius, a creature of Pompey, proposed a law for conferring upon him extraordinary command for their suppression, A. U. 687. The speed and efficiency with which Pompey put down these marauders was deservedly celebrated. See Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* 12, Plutarch, *Pomp.* 24, and the historians Appian, Florus, and Velleius.

The "Mithridatic war" was the long contest waged by the republic against Mithridates, the renowned king of Pontus. Sulla had defeated, and was supposed to have crushed him; but he rose again, and wrested the province of Asia from the Romans. Lucullus again defeated him, but he was still unconquered; and at last, at the motion of Manilius, the Roman people appointed Pompey to carry on the war against him, with full powers throughout the eastern possessions of the republic. This extraordinary commission was regarded by the senate with great jealousy. It was apprehended that Pompey would never consent to return to Rome as a private man. Nevertheless, after the successful completion of his task, and the addition of extensive provinces to the empire, he disbanded his legions, and was content to be the first citizen in the free state. But he afterwards repented, and tried, by a league with Cæsar and Crassus, (the first triumvirate,) to acquire a more decided supremacy in the commonwealth. The Manilian law was carried A. U. 688.

[2] *Plebis opes imminutæ*, "the power of the commons was curtailed." During Pompey's absence the nobles strove to recover their ascendancy, which he had considerably reduced in his consulship, A. U. 684.

[3] *Innoxii*, passive, "secure from attack." Comp. Lucan, ix. 891:

Gens unica terras
Incolit a sævo serpentum innoxia morsu.

Columella, v. 9: Innoxius ab injuria pecorum.

[4] *Ceteros.* Comp. c. 51: juxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. I put [que] in brackets as suspicious, though supported by the MSS.

[5] *Quo plebem*, etc. There is great confusion in this passage. Understand *hi*, the nobility, both patrician and plebeian; *ipsi*, such of them as actually occupied the public offices at any time; *ceteri*, the rest of them, who were at the same time not in office, such as the defeated candidates;

placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum, dubiis rebus [1], novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum [2] arrexit. Quodsi primo prælio Catilina superior, aut æqua manu, discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus [3], qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his A. Fulvius [4], senatoris filius; quem, retractum ex itinere, parens necari jussit. Iisdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus

but more especially the *tribunes of the people,* who are said to be *in magistratu,* incorrectly, because the tribunate was not strictly a magistracy, but who frequently used their power, as such, to harass the real magistrates, the consuls and prætors. Disappointed candidates, especially if they were tribunes, excited the people against their rulers; but by an unscrupulous use of the *judicia,* the magistrates, secure themselves, terrified them into moderation. *Placidius tractarent,* "keep them quiet," as opposed to *accenderent* or *exagitarent.* But this sense is questionable. *Placidius tractarent* should rather mean, "treat with kindness:" and Kritz's emendation, *qui* for *quo,* seems preferable.

[1] *Dubiis rebus,* "at a period of public peril." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 31: cetera cohors, ut turbidis rebus evenit, parat signa. *Ann.* ii. 62: Catualda, dubiis rebus ejus, ultionem ausus. So *rebus perditis, rebus secundis,* etc. The reading *novandi* is supported by some MSS., while *novandis,* which is commonly adopted, is bad both in sense and grammar.

[2] *Eorum ;* scil. *plebis.*

[3] *Exsanguibus ;* i. e. *invalidis.* Comp. Cic. *pro Sest.* 10: hominibus enervatis atque exsanguibus.

[4] *A. Fulvius.* Comp. Val. Max. v. 8. 5, who makes this the name of the father. The father, by the old Roman law, had power of life and death over his child up to any age. Instances are given of parents calling their relations together and sitting in judgment on their sons for public crimes. But this right had become obsolete, and its exercise would not have been endured in this case, but for the prejudice of the government against Catiline and his abettors.

idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret [1].

XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum [2] requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existimans, publice privatimque ære alieno oppressos, præterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat [3], plerisque principibus civitatium notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere cœpit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt [4] "queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare:" "At ego," inquit,

[1] *Quod modo bello usui foret,* "as long as they could be of any service, at least for fighting, if for nothing else."

[2] *Legatos Allobrogum.* The Allobroges, a tribe between the Rhone and Isere, had sent envoys to Rome to complain of the exactions of the provincial government, and to sue for a remission of their public debts. They had been with difficulty conquered, and had more than once revolted. Cicero says of them, *in Catil.* iii. 9: quam gentem unam restare (of all the southern Gauls) quæ populo Rom. bellum facere, et posse, et non nolle videretur. Comp. Cæs. *B. G.* i. 6. Q. Fabius Maximus obtained the surname *Allobrogicus* for his victory over them as far back as A. U. 634. Juvenal, viii. 13:

Cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare.

[3] *Negotiatus erat,* "was established in trade," and had therefore *resided* among them. The *negotiator* was generally a money-lender.

[4] *Videt :* i. q. *cognoscit, accipit, audit.* Comp. Liv. xxxiv. 31: nunc tyrannum me vocari video. Cic. *pro Arch.* 8: quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi magnum versuum dicere ex tempore.

"vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala[1] effugiatis." Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti[2] perducit; quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii[3], propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea Gabinium accersit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo præsente conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios[4], quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

XLI. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat æs alienum, studium belli[5], magna merces in spe victoriæ: at in altera majores opes[6], tuta consilia[7], pro incerta spe certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio

[1] *Tanta ista mala.* Comp. c. 48: tantam illam contumeliam.

[2] *In domum D. Bruti.* Cicero says, ad Gabinium legatos esse perductos; but this does not mean "to the house of Gabinius," but "to meet him," as Sallust also says afterwards.

[3] *Neque aliena consilii:* i. e. *opportuna consilio*, convenient for the meetings of the conspirators. For the construction comp. Cic. *de Fin.* i. 4: quis alienum putet ejus esse dignitatis.

[4] *Innoxios*, "innocent of the conspiracy."

[5] *Studium belli,* "their nation's wish for war."

[6] *Majores opes,* "ampler resources;" i. e. the whole strength of the republic, as compared with the forces on which the conspirators relied.

[7] *Tuta consilia,* "a secure course," taking the side of the government they risked nothing.

Sangæ, cujus patrocinio[1] civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, ut[2] studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

XLII. Iisdem fere temporibus in Gallia[3] Citeriore atque Ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio[4], Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul[5] agebant: nocturnis consiliis[6], armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex senati consulto, caussa cognita[7], in vincula conjecerat; item in

[1] *Q. Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocinio,* etc. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 11: tantopere apud nostros justitia culta est, ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patroni essent more majorum. Hence we may infer that this Fabius inherited the office of *patronus* from the conqueror Fabius Allobrogicus.

[2] *Præcepit ut.* The perf. is found in the majority of MSS.: the change of tense is much in the author's manner. Comp. *Jugur.* 28: his præcepit omnes mortales pecunia aggrediantur. 111. regi patefecit quod polliceatur. The conjunction is found in all the MSS. but two.

[3] *Gallia.* At this time the republic possessed two provinces named Gaul: the "hither," *citerior*, south of the Alps, bounded by the rivers Rubicon and Æsar, and the "further," *ulterior*, north of the Alps, extending to the Rhone and the Cevennes. The hither province was divided into Cispadane and Transpadane, with reference to the river Po (Padus) which intersected it.

[4] *Bruttio.* The western peninsular extremity of Italy was called Bruttium: here the word is an adjective, agreeing with *agro*. So, Bruttia saxa, Pers. vi. 27.

[5] *Cuncta simul,* "every thing at once," as madmen might do.

[6] *Consiliis,* "meetings for deliberation:" *concilia* has generally a bad sense, "clandestine meetings," which is not required here.

[7] *Caussa cognita,* "after examination."

Ulteriore Gallia[1] C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus[2] præerat.

XLIII. At Romæ Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbantur, magnis[3] copiis, constituerant[4], uti, quum Catilina in agrum Fæsulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis[5], bellique gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli[6] imponeret; eo signo, proxima nocte[7] cetera

[1] *Ulteriore G.* This emendation for *Citeriore* is rendered necessary by the statement of Cicero that Murena was in the transalpine province. Cic. *pro Mur.* 41. Metellus Celer was in the cisalpine or hither province. See Cic. *in Catil.* ii. 12, and above, c. 30.

[2] *Legatus.* A lieutenant of the imperator, or governor of a province. Sometimes the governor being himself absent deputed his charge to a *legatus.* But in this case the legatus was sent by the Senate itself, and no proconsul appointed. Comp. Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 3. atque hanc Macedoniam ... etiam sine imperio per legatos tuebamur.

[3] *Ut videbantur magnis,* "such as appeared to be considerable." The impersonal form *videbatur,* is more usual. But comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xvi. 4. teque, ut mihi visus est, diligit, instead of, visum est.

[4] *Constituerant.* The plur. supported by many of the best MSS. is referred irregularly to *Lentulus cum ceteris,* as though it were *Lentulus ceterique.* Comp. *Jugur.* 101. Bocchus cum peditibus...invadunt. Liv. xxi. 60. ipse dux cum principibus capiuntur.

[5] *De actionibus Ciceronis,* "of the actions, i. e. conduct of Cicero." *Actiones* in the plur. is rare in this sense. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 1. actiones suas scriptis mandare. It is generally used technically of legal proceedings. It was the policy of the conspirators to pretend that Cicero had got up a false rumour of a plot in order to drive innocent men away from the city. Comp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 3. *Λεύκιον δὲ Βηστίαν τὸν δήμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν, καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡς ἀεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράσσοντος.*

[6] *Optimo consuli.* It seems that M. Brutus in writing an account of these transactions used this same expression, *optimus consul,* with reference to Cicero's part in them. Cicero in a letter to Atticus, xii. 21, complains of the account as calculated to exalt Cato's conduct in comparison with his own, and refers to this phrase as disparaging. Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit optimum consulem. It is probable, from the character of his mind, that Brutus was very cold and measured in his laudation of the consul, and in his mouth the word *optimus* might have a formal and pedantic sound. But I do not think Sallust meant anything depreciatory. *Optimus* was itself a hearty and genial word, and occurs in the most complimentary descriptions. Juvenal, x. 331. Optimus hic et formosissimus idem gentis patriciæ. Cicero himself uses it of Pansa; consul fortissimus atque optimus. *Philipp.* vii. 2.

[7] *Eo signo, proxima nocte,* "the night after that signal should be given." Plutarch says that the night fixed was one of the Saturnalia, which commenced with the 17th of December. The tribunes were to enter upon their office the 10th of that month. But Cicero's vigilance anticipated this design. He got the conspirators executed December 5.

multitudo conjurationis[1] suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul[2] opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, ceterosque, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium: sed filii familiarum[3], quorum ex nobilitate maxima pars, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde et incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando, et dies pro-

[1] *Cetera multitudo conjurationis,* "all the rest of the conspirators." *Exsequeretur* in the sing. (the reading of the MSS.) refers to *quisque,* not to *multitudo.* Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 41. et vero etiam poetæ suum quisque opus a vulgo considerari vult.

[2] *Duodecim simul.* Plutarch doubtless exaggerates when he says that the conspirators assigned a hundred different places to be fired at the same time.

[3] *Filii familiarum.* Catilina's adherents were mostly young men. Cicero calls them, libidinosa et delicata juventus (*ad Att.* i. 19); sanguinaria juventus (*ad Att.* ii. 7). Comp. *in Catil.* ii. 3. hos quos volitare in foro quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura. Of the proscriptions of the second triumvirate Velleius remarks: Id tamen notandum, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam. ii. 67.

latando[1], magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt[2]; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant jusjurandum[3], quod signatum[4] ad cives perferant: aliter[5] haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam, Crotoniensem[6], mittit, uti Allobroges prius, quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: "Quis sim[7], ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam

[1] *Dies prolatando*, "by putting off the days fixed for the enterprise." Tac. *Ann.* vi. 42. diem ex die prolatare. *Prolatare*, an intensive form, from *proferre, prolatum.*

[2] *Ceteros conveniunt*, "have an interview with the others."

[3] *Postulant jusjurandum*, "demand a written form of oath."

[4] *Signatum*, "with the seals of the parties affixed."

[5] *Aliter*: i. q. *alioquin.*

[6] *Crotoniensem*, "a citizen of Crotona," in Bruttium.

[7] *Quis sim.* Some MSS. read *qui sim.* *Quis sim*, means, "who I am;" *qui sim*, "what sort of person I am." So Cic. *in Cæc. Div.* 12. qui sis et quid facere possis, considera. Liv. i. 41. qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa.

ab infimis[1]." Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat: "Cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet[2]? in urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco[3] et C. Pomptinio[4], prætoribus, imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio[5] per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant: rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur: cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi homines militares[6], sine tu-

[1] *Etiam ab infimis.* This was a covert suggestion to arm slaves, which was too atrocious a design to be committed to writing, though recommended, as we see immediately afterwards, orally. Comp. the same letter recited, with some variation, by Cicero, *in Catil.* iii. 5. Probably neither author cared to quote with perfect accuracy. No reliance whatever can be placed on Sallust saying just above, quarum exemplum infra scriptum.

[2] *Quo consilio servitia repudiet?* "what would be the sense of rejecting the employment of slaves?"

[3] *L. Valerius Flaccus.* The same whom Cicero defended upon a charge of malversation in the province of Asia.

[4] *C. Pomptinius;* or *Pomtinus.* His family were probably of Suessa Pometia, in Latium, whence the *paludes Pomptinæ* derived their name. This Pomptinius succeeded Murena in Transalpine Gaul, and effected the final pacification of the Allobroges, over whom he triumphed, A.U. 700, for his victory A.U. 693.

[5] *In ponte Mulvio.* The Mulvian, or Milvian bridge (perhaps, from M. Æmilius Scaurus, who is said to have built it), crossed the Tiber on the Flaminian way, two miles north of Rome. The great battle between Constantine and Maxentius A.D. 312, took its name from this bridge. It is now called Ponte Molle: some part of the structure is supposed to be original. A bridge would be a convenient spot for intercepting travellers. At such a point it was more difficult to escape. Being narrow, and generally with a considerable elevation, carriages would slacken their pace at them. Beggars and loiterers infested them, and waylayers might keep a look out from them without exciting suspicion.

[6] *Homines militares*, "being men of military science."

multu præsidiis collocatis[1], sicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt[2]. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, et simul utrimque[3] clamor exortus est; Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinium obtestatus[4], quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitæ diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese prætoribus dedit[5].

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere. Nam lætabatur, intelligens, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; pœnam illorum sibi oneri[6], impunitatem perdendæ reipublicæ[7] credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Cœparium quemdam,

1 *Præsidiis collocatis*. Comp. Cicero's description *in Catil.* iii. 2. illi ...cum advesperasceret occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset, etc.

2 *Pontem obsidunt*, "occupy the bridge." *Obsident*, the reading of some MSS. and Edd. would mean, "besiege," "beleaguer."

3 *Utrimque*, "on either side of the bridge;" the ambush being laid, as Cicero describes, on both sides.

4 *Multa ...... obtestatus*, "urging Pomptinius with many arguments."

5 *Dedit*. Probably the pres. from *dedo*, "gives himself up:" *dedo* implies more entire submission than the simple *do*.

6 *Sibi oneri*, etc., "would bring a burden of odium upon himself."

7 *Perdendæ reipublicæ*, etc., "would conduce to the destruction of the commonwealth."

Terracinensem[1], qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Cœparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens[2] perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ[3] venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia[4] ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid, aut qua de caussa, consilii habuisset?", primo fingere alia[5], dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica[6] dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit, docetque, "se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Cœpario socium adscitum,

1 *Terracinensem*, "of Terracina," or Anxur on the coast of Latium, now Tarracina.

2 *Manu tenens*, "leading by the hand;" as a mark of honour.

3 *In ædem Concordiæ*. The foundations of this temple are still visible at the foot of the Capitoline hill, facing the forum. It was built by Camillus, and commemorated the restoration of concord between the senate and people. Plutarch, *Camill.*

4 *Magna frequentia*, "at a full meeting." The senate at this time amounted nominally to six hundred members; but the vacancies caused by death had not been regularly supplied by the censors. Four hundred and fifteen members divided at a full meeting. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14. Comp. Cic. *Post Red. in Sen.* 10. Allowance must be made for the number of senators engaged in the provincial administration. The meetings were held in the *cella*, or interior chamber of the temple (comp. Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 8), and in this case the prisoners were *introduced* from the outer chamber.

5 *Alia*, "other than the truth:" so the phrase, *in alia omine abire*, "to run off to matters other than those in hand, not pertinent to the affair."

6 *Fide publica*, (scil. *data*) "on the public faith being pledged for his safety." Comp. *Catil.* 48. se indicaturum si fides publica data esset. *Jugur.* 32. 35.

nihil amplius scire, quam legatos[1]: tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. VarGunteium, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, præter litteras, sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: "ex libris Sibyllinis[2], regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi: Cinnam[3] atque Sullam antea; se tertium, cui fatum foret urbis potiri: præterea ab incenso Capitolio[4] illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur, per-

[1] *Nihil amplius scire quam legatos,* "that he knew no more of the secrets of the plot than the Allobroges," who as foreigners could not be supposed intimate with its secret objects and ramifications: in short, he professed to be an instrument of the conspirators, but not an associate. He had only heard the names of a few individuals among them. Kritz explains it, se præterquam quod legatos sciat conjurationis participes esse nullam plane ex conjuratis nosse: and adds, *nihil* de personis dictum non insolens est.

[2] *Ex libris Sibyllinis.* Certain volumes so called, containing predictions regarding the destinies of the republic, were kept in custody of special officers called Quindecimvirs, and formed an important engine of state. Many other vaticinations, pretending to the authority of the Sibyls, were current among the citizens, and it is to some of these probably that Lentulus referred. The emperor Augustus found these impostures such a nuisance to the government that he caused a pretended authentic compilation to be made, and gave all the rest he could collect to the flames.

[3] *Cinnam.* L. Cornelius Cinna, a leader of the popular party during the absence of Sulla in the east (A. U. 666—669). He was consul A. U. 667, when he impeached Sulla, and recalled Marius from exile. Being driven out of Rome by his colleague Octavius, he returned with a military force, took the city, and exacted a proscription of the aristocratic party. He was eventually killed in a mutiny of his own soldiers whom he was leading against Sulla.

[4] *Ab incenso Capitolio:* i. e. from the year 671, when the capitol was destroyed in the wars of Marius and Sulla. It was again burnt in the contest of the Vitellian and Flavian soldiers, A. D. 70, and once more by accident in the reign of Domitian. Lactantius says that, up to his time, in the fourth century, it had been frequently destroyed by lightning. iii. 17.

lectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent[1], senatus decernit, "uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in liberis custodiis[2] haberentur." Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri[3], qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio[4], Statilius C. Cæsari[5], Gabinius[6] M. Crasso[7], Cœparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta[8], quæ primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad cœlum tollere: veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiam[9] agitabant. Namque alia

[1] *Cognovissent,* "recognized:" the proper word in such cases. Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iii. 5: Statilius cognovit signum et manum suam.

[2] *In liberis custodiis,* "in free custody." Persons of distinction were often placed under the care of the magistrates in their houses, instead of being consigned to the prison. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 3: Gallio retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratuum. Cic. *Brut.* 96: quoniam eloquentiæ quasi tutores relicti sumus, domi teneamus eam septam liberali custodia.

[3] *P. Lentulo Spintheri.* Consul. A. U. 697. *Spinther* means, a bracelet. Gr. σφίγκτηρ. Lentulus is said to have derived his surname from his similarity to a certain actor of the day so called.

[4] *Q. Cornificio.* A colleague of Cicero's in the augurship. Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 17.

[5] *C. Cæsari.* Caius Julius Cæsar.

[6] *Gabinius.* This obscure personage is not to be confounded with Aulus Gabinius, an adherent of Pompey, in whose interest he proposed the *Lex Gabinia*, for giving him the conduct of the war against the pirates, and *imperium* throughout all the coasts of the Mediterranean and fifty miles inland, A. U. 688.

[7] *M. Crasso.* M. Licinius Crassus the triumvir.

[8] *Conjuratione patefacta.* The affair was revealed to the people by Cicero in a speech (his third Catilinarian oration) which he delivered in the forum on the 3rd of December (=Feb. 5. B. C. 62), after the examination of the Allobroges before the senate. Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 1: quo die Allobroges involgarunt.

[9] *Gaudium atque lætitiam.* The second is a stronger word than the first. Comp. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 6: quum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium

belli facinora prædæ magis, quam detrimento fore; incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat; quippe cui [1] omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus a consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet: præterea, "se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nunciaret, ne eum Lentulus, et Cethegus, aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent [2]; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia; alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existimabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis lenienda, quam exagitanda videbatur; plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii [3], conclamant, "indicem falsum," deque ea re postulant uti referatur [4]. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens

dicitur; quum autem inaniter et effuse animus exsultat, tum illa lætitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest.

[1] *Quippe cui*, etc. The lower orders contemplated the plunder of the city with little alarm, inasmuch as they had no possessions but what they carried in their hands or wore on their backs: their tools and clothes.

[2] *Ne eum Lentulus...deprehensi terrerent*, "not to be alarmed at the arrest of Lentulus," &c.

[3] *Obnoxii*, "under private obligations to Crassus:" persons whom he had assisted with loans.

[4] *Uti referatur*, scil. *ad Senatum*.

senatus decernit: "Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem [1] faciendam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus esset." Erant eo tempore, qui æstimarent, illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum [2] aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo [3] suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem [4] audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam [5].

XLIX. Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso [6], neque gratia, neque precibus, neque pretio, Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut

They insisted that the question of Crassus's complicity should be referred to a vote of the senate, that is, to their own decision, and not left to be dealt with by the consuls.

[1] *Potestatem*, "leave to make disclosures."

[2] *Immissum*, "instigated;" i. e. sent against a person with a bad purpose; used of informers, false witnesses, hired assassins, &c.

[3] *More suo.* Connect with *susc. mal. patr.* Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 30, for the artifice of Crassus in pleading for profligate characters: alii qui quidvis perpetiantur, cuivis deserviant, dum quod velint consequantur, ut Sullam et M. Crassum videbamus. See also Cic. *Parad.* 6. Comp. for a more favourable representation of Crassus's proceedings, Plutarch, *Crass.* 3.

[4] *Prædicantem*, "openly affirming." Comp. *Jugur.* 14: uti prædicantem audiveram patrem meum.

[5] *Contumeliam ... impositam*, "insult cast upon him." So *imponere injurias, labem, pudorem*, &c.

[6] *C. Piso.* C. Calpurnius Piso, consul 687, proconsul of the further Gaul 688; defended by Cicero when accused of extortion in his province. He is to be distinguished from L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus, consul A. U. 696, and father-in-law of Cæsar, a great enemy of Cicero. Also from M. Pupius Piso, and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, contemporary nobles. See above, note on ch. 18.

alium indicem, C. Cæsar falso[1] nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo graves inimicitias exercebant; Piso obpugnatus in judicio repetundarum, propter cujusdam Transpadani[2] supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus[3] odio incensus, quod, extrema ætate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo[4] Cæsare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur[5]; quod, privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maximis muneribus[6], grandem pecuniam debebat[7]. Sed,

[1] *Falso.* Sallust affirms on his own authority that Cæsar was not concerned in the conspiracy, while he insinuates the guilt of Crassus. It is probable that both were equally aware of the machinations in progress, and disposed to regard with satisfaction a movement which would harass, if not overthrow, the government of the oligarchy. But it is not likely that either of them was directly implicated. Cæsar was named as an accomplice the following year by L. Vettius, a man of bad character, whose accusation would have been treated with contempt, but that, being thrown into prison on another account about the same time, he was found dead in his bed, which gave occasion to odious suspicions.

[2] *Transpadani.* An inhabitant of the part of the Cisalpine province beyond the Po. Cæsar was patron of this people, and as such had impeached Piso.

[3] *Ex petitione pontificatus.* Catulus had offered himself as a candidate for the high-priesthood in the year 691, but was opposed, much to his mortification, by Cæsar, then comparatively young and little known. He offered contemptuously to buy off Cæsar's competition by assisting to pay his debts; but Cæsar refused, and declared that he would plunge still more deeply in debt, if necessary, to gain the election: πλείω προσδανεισάμενος ἔφη διαγωνιεῖσθαι. Plutarch, *in Cæs.* 7. The people, who had the appointment, elected their favourite.

[4] *Adolescentulo.* Cæsar at this time was 37: see note on ch. 38.

[5] *Res autem opportuna videbatur*, "the charge seemed well timed," i. e. likely from the circumstances of the case to obtain credit.

[6] *Privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maximis muneribus.* Comp. *Catil.* 54. Cæsar beneficiis atque munificentia magnus habebatur...mansuetudine et misericordia...dando, sublevando, ignoscendo...miseris perfugium...facilitas: in all which respects he is contrasted with Cato. Cæsar's public munificence had been displayed in the shows of his ædileship.

[7] *Grandem pecuniam debebat.* Cæsar is said by Plutarch to have owed thirteen hundred talents (= £251,875) before he obtained any public employment. When he was about to enter upon his proprætorship in Spain, A. U. 693, he is reported to have said that he wanted one hundred million of sesterces (= £807,291) to be "worth nothing." Crassus on this occasion lent him the sum necessary to defray his outfit, and satisfy his most pressing creditors. But money was at all times freely lent him by the wealthy men of his party, who expected to be amply repaid on his advancement to the highest offices.

ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt[1], ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiendo[2], quæ se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque eo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui, præsidii caussa, cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobilitate[3] impulsi, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset[4], egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur; liberti[5], et pauci ex clienti-

[1] *Impellere nequeunt.* Cæsar engaged Cicero to come forward and declare that he had been actually the first to reveal the existence of the plot to him; and the senate decreed that the reward assigned to Curius should be taken from him, and handed over to the prior informant. Suet. *Jul.* 17.

[2] *Ementiendo*, "by falsely proclaiming." *Ementiri* is to utter falsehoods audaciously and openly. Comp. Liv. i. 8; ix. 18; xxv. 3.

[3] *Nobilitate.* I much prefer *mobilitate*, which is supported by several MSS.

[4] *Clarius esset.* This refers to the clause following: they brandished their swords to display their zeal more conspicuously. For the circumstance comp. Plutarch, *Cæs.* 8, who affirms that these knights looked to Cicero for a signal to massacre Cæsar, which he withheld. He wonders, however, if this were true, why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. This outrage, however, caused great indignation among the people, who on a subsequent occasion, when Cæsar defended himself in the senate, and was ill received there, surrounded the curia with loud outcries, and insisted on his being dismissed in safety.

[5] *Liberti*, "the freed-men of Lentulus:" *liberti* used in relation to their masters, *libertini* in relation to free-born citizens, i. e. *ingenui.*

bus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum[1], qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti erant; Cethegus autem, per nuncios, familiam[2] atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, ut grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsidiis[3], ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu[4], refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITI ERANT. Sed eos, paullo ante, frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE[5]. Tum D. Junius Silanus[6], primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium[7] sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus

[1] *Duces multitudinum*, "the leaders of mobs." At this period public affairs were often interrupted by mob violence, and some party chiefs hired the known leaders of the rabble to engage their followers to excite disturbances.

[2] *Familiam*, "his domestic slaves."

[3] *Dispositis præsidiis*. Cicero speaks contemptuously of the failure of these attempts at exciting a commotion (*in Catil.* iv. 8). Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 5, says that a tumult was created, but easily put down by the consul's precautions.

[4] *Convocato senatu*: this meeting took place Dec. 5 = Feb. 7. B. C. 62.

[5] *Contra rempublicam fecisse.* Upon the occasion of Cicero's second Catilinarian oration (Nov. 9), the senate had declared Catilina and Manlius public enemies. Sallust, *Catil.* 36. The other conspirators, on being convicted of correspondence with them, fell under the same sentence.

[6] *D. Junius Silanus.* He succeeded to the consulship in the following year, with Murena. He was married to Cato's half sister, Servilia. The *consul designatus*, elected but not yet entered upon his office, was usually asked his opinion first by the actual consul. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iii.22. Tiberius exemit Drusum, consulem designatum, dicendæ primo loco sententiæ. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 5.

[7] *Supplicium*, "capital punishment." Appian, ii. 5. *τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσχάτῃ κολάσει μετιέναι.*

oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum[1] se dixerat; quod de ea re, præsidiis additis, referendum censuerat[2]. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum[3], rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. "Omnes homines[4], Patres conscripti, qui de

[1] *Pedibus...iturum*, "he would take his station by the side of Tib. Nero," i. e. divide with him.

[2] *Referendum censuerat.* He had proposed that the question of punishment should stand over for the present, probably till the issue of the contest with Catilina; the culprits being kept in custody during the interval: *præsidiis additis*, "guards placed over them."

[3] *Ubi ad eum ventum.* There was much irregularity in the order in which opinions were demanded in the senate. The consul (or prætor in his absence) who summoned the meeting, called upon all the members separately to declare their sentiments, which they did either in a speech, or by merely assenting to the opinion of some preceding speaker; in which case they rose from their place, and went over to him. At the conclusion of the debate, the groups thus assembled were counted. Comp. Plin. *Ep.* viii. 14. 19. lex apertè jubet dirimi debere sententias occidentis et relegantis, cum ita discessionem fieri jubet; qui hæc sentitis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite, qua sentitis...i. e. in eam in qua sedet qui censuit relegandos. The consul usually called first upon one of the consuls-designate, next upon the consulars, the prætors, and other high magistrates. But he was not bound to any particular order; and in the present case we find Catulus, a consular, speaking after Cæsar, who was prætor-designate. But whatever order the consul assigned at the commencement of his term of office, he was expected to maintain throughout. Cæsar's violating this usage, in his own consulship, was remarked upon. See Suet. *Jul.* 21. post novam affinitatem, Pompeium primum rogare sententiam cœpit, cum Crassum coleret; essetque consuetudo, ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul kalendis januariis instituisset, eum toto anno conservaret. On this occasion it seems that Crassus was not present, otherwise Sallust, or Cicero himself, would undoubtedly have recorded his opinion. He was indignant, perhaps, at the suspicion of complicity cast upon him. Many of the senators abstained from attending, from various motives. Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 5; *ad Att.* xii. 21.

[4] *Omnes homines*: the beginning of the speech is supposed to be imitated from Demosthenes, (*περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσονήσῳ πραγμάτων) ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας ἐν ὑμῖν μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα, μήτε πρὸς χάριν.*

rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui[1] paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet[2]: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, Patres conscripti, qui reges atque populi, ira aut misericordia impulsi, male consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri, contra lubidinem animi, recte atque ordine[3] fecere. Bello Macedonico[4], quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas[5], magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriæ caussa, bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos[6] eos dimi-

[1] *Usui*, i. e. *utilitati.* Comp. Cic. *Pro Leg. Manil.* 20. majores nostro semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse. Comp. Nepos, *Alcib.* 4. plus iræ suæ quam utilitati communi paruisse.

[2] *Valet:* scil. *animus.*

[3] *Recte atque ordine.* A familiar idiom. Comp. Liv. xxiv. 31; xxviii. 39; xxx. 17.

[4] *Bello Macedonico.* Perses, or Perseus, the last of the kings of Macedonia, was subdued by L. Æmilius Paulus at the battle of Pydna, A. U. 586. B. C. 168. Perses is the form of the name adopted by Cicero and Sallust, Perseus by Livy, Pliny, Justin, and Eutropius.

[5] *Rhodiorum civitas.* The state of Rhodes became famous as the greatest maritime power of the eastern Mediterranean, after the fall of Athens in the fourth century B. C. It had proved itself a faithful ally of the Romans in the war with Antiochus, king of Syria (B. C. 190), and had received from them the countries of Lycia and Caria. In the Macedonian war it inclined to the other side, or, at least, trimmed between the two. Comp. Vell. i. 9. dubia fide speculati fortunam proniores regis partibus fuisse visi sunt.

[6] *Impunitos.* The Romans did not turn their arms upon them, and overthrow their commonwealth: they contented themselves with taking from them their possessions in Lycia and

sere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace, et per inducias[1], multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem[2] talia fecere[3]; magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illis[4] jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc idem[5] providendum est, Patres conscripti, ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ vestræ, quam famæ, consulatis. Nam si digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium[6] adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat[7], iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite[8] atque magnifice[9]

Caria. See Liv. xlv. 25. Comp. also A. Gellius, vii. 3.

[1] *Per inducias*, "in time of truce."

[2] *Per occasionem*, "when opportunity offered."

[3] *Talia fecere*, "did the like," "retaliated."

[4] *In illis*, "in their case." Comp. *Catil.* 9: in amicis fideles; and examples there given.

[5] *Hoc idem*, "this, which is a similar case to the foregoing."

[6] *Novum consilium*, "a new course of proceeding," unusual, novel; i. e. the proposition of Silenus for inflicting death on the conspirators, which the senate had no right to do. No Roman citizen could, in strict law, be condemned to death, except by a vote of the people. On the other hand, the senate by the appointment of a dictator, or by investing the consuls with summary powers, by a senatus-consultum ultimum, i. e. caveant consules ne respublica aliquid detrimenti capiat, claimed the right of suspending the ordinary operation of the laws. The people always regarded these stretches of prerogative as illegal encroachments, and in the sequel declared, at the instigation of the tribune Clodius, that Cicero had committed a judicial murder in executing the conspirators by virtue of a decree of the senate.

[7] *Omnium ingenia exsuperat*, "transcends the imaginations of all."

[8] *Composite*, "in studied and elaborate orations." So *composito:* Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 129. Composito rumpit vocem et me destinat aræ.

[9] *Magnifice*, "in glowing colours;" expressive of some enhancement of the subject. Comp. Liv. xxi. 41. non vereor ne quis me hoc vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse.

casum reipublicæ miserati sunt: quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibuissent; fana atque domos exspoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; postremo, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu compleri. Sed per deos immortales! quo illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet, quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet! Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur: multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est[1], Patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio præditi in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxima fortuna minima licentia est: neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet: quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic æstimo, Patres conscripti, omnes cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse: sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis, sceleris obliti, de pœna disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam,

[1] *Sed alia aliis licentia est:* scil. *irascendi,* or *iracundia delinquendi,* "some men have more licence to give way to anger than others."

aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores, eam modestiam[1] viri cognovi. Verum sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in tales homines crudele fieri potest? sed aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus, aut injuria[2] te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum, præsertim diligentia clarissimi viri, consulis, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœna possumus equidem dicere[3], id quod

[1] *Eos mores, eam modestiam.* Comp. *Catil.* 7. eas divitias, eam bonam famam putabant. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 42. ea principis ætas, ea moderatio. In such cases *hic* is more usual than *is. Jugur.* 85. hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas. Lucan, ii. 380. hi mores hæc duri immota Catonis Secta fuit. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 129. Hoc opus hic labor est.

[2] *Aut metus, aut injuria,* "you were impelled to propose capital punishment, either by excessive alarm (which there was no occasion for), or by a sense of the atrocity of the crime (in respect to which even capital punishment is quite inadequate.)" *Novum pœnæ genus,* is *per euphemismum* for *death,* which the Romans never named if they could avoid it. Hence the phrases *supplicium* for "capital punishment," *in hostium numero habere,* for "to put to the sword."

[3] *Possumus equidem dicere,* "we may surely say." The common opinion, adopted among the Romans themselves, that *equidem* is a contraction of *ego quidem,* is refuted by the grammarian Priscian. Sciendum tamen quod quidam *equidem* conjunctionem compositam esse existimant ab *ego* et *quidem;* sed errant. Simplex enim est. Et hoc maxime ex ipsa constructione orationis possumus intelligere. Nam *equidem facio, equidem facis, equidem facit* dicimus. He goes on to prove the same from the combination of *ego* and *equidem,* citing from this chapter of the *Catilina, Equidem ego sic existimo.* Bentley maintained, however, that the use of *equidem* was confined at least to the first person singular down to the time of Nero: but this may be shewn to be erroneous from various passages in Plautus and Terence. *Equidem* then is best explained as a stronger form of *quidem,* the *e* being an intensive particle, as in *edurus, egelidus,* or *enim, ecastor.* (Handii, *Tursellinus,* ii. 423). If we consider the *e* to be a long syllable, *equidem* must be scanned *ēqu'em,* as we find the *d* of *quidem, modo, idem,* &c. frequently dropped by Plautus and Terence. (Donaldson's *Varronianus,* p. 280. 1 ed. See Bentley on Ter. *Andr.* i. 3. 20). Accordingly read in Pers. i. 10. per me equ'em sint omnia protinus alba; or per me qu'em. Lucan, viii. 824. Haud equ'em immerito......Cautum; Virg.

res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse[1]. Sed, per deos immortales! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an, quia lex Porcia[2] vetat? at aliæ leges[3] item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gra-

Geor. i. 415. Haud equ'em, credo, quia sit divinitus illis. But it is not likely that this vulgar contraction would be admitted in heroic poetry; and it is better to consider the *e* short, as in *enim.* The various constructions in which *equidem* occurs may be seen in the following instances taken from good and early authors:

Sallust, *Catil.* 52. equidem nos amisimus.

Varro, *de R. R.* i. 5. equidem innumerabiles mihi videntur.

Cic. *Tusc.* v. 35. vestræ equidem cœnæ jucundæ sunt.

Virgil, *Æn.* x. 29. equidem, credo, mea vulnera restant.

Plaut. *Epid.* iv. 2. 33. adolescentem equidem dicebant emisse.

—— *Pers.* ii. 2. 3. equidem si scis.

Terent. *Eunuch.* v. 4. 34. atque equidem orante ut ne id faceret Thaide.

Lucret. iii. 1091. certe equidem finis vitæ mortalibus instat.

Sallust, *Catil.* 52. scitis equidem milites.

—— *Jugur.* 10. equidem ego vobis regnum trado.

[1] *Ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse.* A remarkable avowal of materialism in the Chief Pontiff of the national religion. That such an avowal was really made appears from Cicero's reference to it in *Catil.* iv. 4. alter intelligit mortem a Dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturæ aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. Cicero himself only ventures, in opposition to this opinion, to allude to the belief of the ancients as a convenient check to crime: itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt.

[2] *Lex Porcia.* The Porcian law, proposed by P. Porcius Læca, a tribune of the plebs, A.U. 454. See Liv. x. 9. Porcia lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur, quod gravi pœna, si quis verberasset necassetve civem Romanum, sanxit. A citizen brought on a capital charge before the people might decline a trial by withdrawing into banishment.

[3] *Aliæ leges.* The lex Sempronia of C. Gracchus also forbade the magistrate pronouncing a capital sentence against a citizen without first obtaining the sanction of the people.

vius est verberari, quam necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave nimis in homines tanti facinoris convictos? sin, quia levius? qui convenit[1] in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris? At enim[2] quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? Tempus, dies[3], fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidit, quidquid evenerit: ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios[4] statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt; sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros[5] imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo cœpere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: ea[6] populus lætari et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ graves pœnas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla cum Damasippum[7] et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipub-

[1] *Qui convenit.* *Qui* the old ablat. for *quo.*

[2] *At enim.* A formula for meeting a supposed objection. "But some one will say."

[3] *Tempus dies*, etc., scil. *reprehendent:* in answer to the foregoing question.

[4] *In alios.* *In aliis*, the reading of one MS., seems preferable. Comp. above *in illis*, and *Catil.* 9. *in amicis* etc.

[5] *Triginta viros.* Commonly called the thirty tyrants; an oligarchical administration imposed upon Athens by the Spartans at the end of the Peloponnesian war.

[6] *Ea:* scil. *facta.* Lætari with the accus. Comp. *Jugur.* 14. lætandum magis puto quam dolendum casum tuum. Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 1. utrumque lætor.

[7] *Damasippus.* L. Junius Brutus Damasippus, an adherent of the Ma-

licæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam, uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremo aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita, quibus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, post paullo ipsi trahebantur[1]: neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hæc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, vereor: sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest, alio tempore, alio consule, cui item[2] exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii, neque audaciæ unquam eguere: neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus[3], insignia magistratuum[4] ab Tuscis pleraque sumserunt: pos-

rian faction, put to death by Sulla, A.U. 672, after he had murdered many distinguished senators. See Vell. ii. 26; Appian, *B. C.* i. 88. 93.

[1] *Trahebantur*, "were dragged to execution."

[2] *Item*: i.q. *pariter*.

[3] *Ab Samnitibus*. A warlike people inhabiting the mountainous country in the centre of southern Italy. Niebuhr has remarked that while the Latin names of domestic animals, agricultural implements, &c. are mostly adopted from the civilized Greeks, those of weapons, &c. are taken from the language of some indigenous warlike race. This, however, is not strictly the case. Comp. ensis, ἔγχος; gladius, κλάδος; scutum, σκῦτος; galea, γαλῆ; hasta, ἵστημι; etc.

[4] *Insignia magistratuum*. Such, perhaps, as the trabea, or white robe

tremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostes idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari, quam invidere bonis[1] malebant. Sed, eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem[2] imitati, verberibus animadvertebant in cives, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumveniri[3] innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri cœpere; tum lex Porcia aliæque leges[4] paratæ sunt, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego caussam, Patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinæ? minime: sed ita censeo; publicandas[5] eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculos habendos per municipia[6] quæ maxime opibus valent; neu

bordered or striped with purple, worn by the consuls and other magistrates; the curule chair, the fasces, and the lictors.

[1] *Bonis*: scil. *institutis*. The dative of the thing, instead of the person, which is more usual with *invidere*.

[2] *Græciæ morem*. The Romans were proud of the mildness of their laws in regard to their own citizens, which they considered the mark of a free and liberal constitution. At Athens, citizens were liable to capital punishment, which was frequently inflicted on slight grounds, though the mode of death, by administering a draught of hemlock, was studiously mild.

[3] *Circumveniri*, "were oppressed by civil arts." Comp. c. 31. circumventus ab inimicis præceps agor.

[4] *Aliæque leges*. *Leges* is omitted by some MSS., but the repetition seems to be studied, in order to enforce upon the audience the contrast between law and illegal violence.

[5] *Publicandas*, i. e. to be made *publici juris*, to be transferred to the public treasury.

[6] *Per municipia*. Comp. Cicero,

quis de his postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat[1]: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

LII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo[2], alius alii, varie adsentiebantur; at M. Porcius Cato[3], rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit[4]: "Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, paren-

in Catil. iv. 4. adjungit gravem pœnam municipibus si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat, etc. It appears that the Roman government allowed so much independence to the municipal administrations, that they might have refused to undertake the confinement of these prisoners. Cicero says: municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogas.

[1] *Cum populo agat,* "transact business with the people," i. e. appeal to the people.

[2] *Verbo:* "with a single word," signifying their agreement with one of the previous speakers.

[3] *M. Porcius Cato.* The Porcian was a plebeian gens, but of ancient nobility. Cato the censor was great grandfather of the Cato here mentioned, who is distinguished from him by the surname of *Uticensis,* from the place of his death. He was born, A. U. 659. B. C. 95. Accordingly, he was at this time 32 years of age. He had not yet served any high office, and was only beginning to become known in the political world. The uncompromising opinions he expressed on this occasion marked him out as a leader for the nobles, who were dissatisfied with Pompeius and Crassus, and disdained Cicero for his obscure origin.

[4] *Orationem habuit.* Cicero characterizes Cato's speech on this occasion in his pleading for Sestius, c. 28. Consule me, quum esset designatus tribunus plebis, obtulit in discrimen vitam suam; dixit eam sententiam, cujus invidiam capitis periculo sibi præstandam videbat; dixit vehementer, egit acriter, ea quæ sensit præ se tulit; dux, auctor, actor illarum rerum fuit. Comp. Vell. ii. 35. The beginning of this speech may be compared with that of the third Olynthiac of Demosthenes.

tibus, aris atque focis[1] suis bellum paravere: res autem monet, cavere ab illis, quam[2], quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores; capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortales! vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris, quam rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sunt[3], quæ amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis; expergiscimini aliquando, et capessite rempublicam[4]. Non agitur de vectigalibus, neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio[5] est. Sæpenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine[6] feci; sæpe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortales ea caussa adversos habeo; qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile[7] alterius lubidini malefacta con-

[1] *Aris atque focis.* The best opinion seems to be that both these words refer to the citizens' private dwellings; the *ara* being the altar of the *Penates,* in the central court of the house (impluvium), the *focus* the hearth in the hall (atrium) around which the little images of the *Lares* were ranged. See Ernesti *in Clav. Cicer.* v. *Ara.*

[2] *Cavere ab illis quam: magis* is omitted by the best critics on the authority of many MSS. So in cc. 8, 9, 48.

[3] *Cujuscumque modi sunt.* The indic. mood implying the certainty in the mind of the speaker of there being such things. Comp. below, cujus hæc cumque modi videntur. Cic. *de Off.* i. 25. utilitatem civium tueantur, ut quæcunque agunt, ad rem publicam referant. Tac. *Ann.* i. 42. quicquid istuc sceleris imminet.

[4] *Capessite rem publicam,* "take public affairs in hand."

[5] *In dubio,* i. e. *in periculo.* Comp. Ovid. *Amor.* ii. 13. 2. In dubio vitæ nostra Corinna jacet.

[6] *In hoc ordine,* "in this assembly," i. e. before the senatorial order.

[7] *Haud facile,* etc., "I am not wont easily to forgive other men's evil passions their misdeeds:" *condonare,*

donabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma erat; opulentia negligentiam tolerabat[1]. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum, aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit: sed, cujus hæc cumque modi videntur, nostra, an nobiscum una[2], hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam[3] mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat; jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus[4]; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: eo respublica in extremo sita est[5]. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus[6] ærarii, ne[7] illi[8] sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnes perditum eant. Bene

to forgive, i. e. to give up, as a thing in which we have no concern.

[1] *Opulentia negligentiam tolerabat*, "the resources of the state enabled it to bear the loss inflicted by your carelessness."

[2] *Nostra an nobiscum una*, etc., "whether they shall continue ours, or become our enemies', together with ourselves."

[3] *Hic mihi quisquam*, "here some one, I suppose," (with irony) "speaks to me of mildness and pitifulness." Comp. Cic. *Phil.* viii. 4. Hic mihi Fufius pacis commoda commemorat. Some editions make the sentence interrogative.

[4] *Vera rerum vocabula amisimus.* Comp. Thucyd. iii. 82. *τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν ὀνομάτων ἀντήλλαξαν κ.τ.λ.*

[5] *Eo respublica in extremo sita est*, "to such an extremity is the state reduced."

[6] *In furibus*: "in the case of plunderers." For the ablat. see above, cc. 9, 51, &c.

[7] *Ne*, i. q. *dummodo ne*, "as long as they do not." Comp. Liv. xxxvi. 1. permissum ut auxilia ab sociis, ne supra quinque millium numerum, acciperet.

[8] *Illi* (with emphasis and indignation.) This reading, supported by several MSS. is preferable to *illis*, which must be referred grammatically to *fures ærarii*, which is certainly not the writer's meaning. The critics who read *illis*, generally understand it of the conspirators, who could only be referred to by the word *his*, δεικτικῶς.

et composite C. Cæsar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo, falsa[1] existimans, quæ de inferis memorantur; diverso itinere malos a bonis[2] loca tetra, inculta, fœda atque formidolosa habere[3]. Itaque censuit PECUNIAS EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; videlicet[4] timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis[5], aut a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare, cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paullulum modo

[1] *Credo, falsa.* This is the order of all the MSS. inverted by Cortius, as unusual, where *credo* is introduced ironically: "deeming false, forsooth." But compare Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 90. credo hac mente (for h. m. c.) Cic. *in Catil.* i. 2. si te interfici jussero, credo, erit verendum mihi.

[2] *Diverso itinere malos a bonis*, "the bad in a contrary direction from the good:" scil. *diverso a bonis.* Comp. Cæs. *B. C.* i. 69. erat iter a proposito diversum; contrariamque in partem iri videbatur. *B. G.* vi. 25. diversis ab flumine regionibus. Stat. *Theb.* vii. 706. quantum diversus ab illo.

[3] *Habere*, i. q. tenere. Comp. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 434. Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca.

[4] *Videlicet*: ironical. There is irony also in *timens*, as if any suggestion of *fear* on Cæsar's part must have been a pretence, insinuating that he was on a perfect understanding with the conspirators.

[5] *A popularibus conjurationis*, "by the associates of the cabal." Comp. above, c. 24. quod factum populares conjurationis concusserat: *populares*, fig. persons of the same class, prop. of the same nation.

vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt[1]. Nolite existimare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus: quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia, quam illis est. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla sunt[2]; domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius[3]. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ, aut gratiæ servitis: eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam[4]. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere: Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum accersunt: dux hostium supra caput[5] est: vos cunctamini[6] etiam nunc, quid intra mœnia deprehensis[7] hostibus faciatis? Misere-

[1] *Aderunt*, "will attack you." Comp. *Jugur.* 50. Numidæ infensi adesse atque instare. Liv. xxii. 32. Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen.

[2] *Quæ nobis nulla sunt*, "which are lost and gone for us:" an antique idiom. Comp. Plaut. *Casin.* ii. 4. 26. si id factum est, ecce me nullum senem. Ter. *Phorm.* i. 4. 1. nullus es, Geta, "you are lost, done for."

[3] *Neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius*, "biassed neither by conscious guilt, nor by passion."

[4] *In vacuam rempublicam*, "upon the unprotected commonwealth."

[5] *Supra caput.* A phrase implying imminent, impending danger. Comp. Liv. iii. 17. quum hostes supra caput sint.

[6] *Vos cunctamini*, etc., "are you even now deliberating?"

[7] *Deprehensis*, "caught and convicted." Comp. c. 46. in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis. *Jugur.* 35. ipse deprehensus indicium profitetur: the dative, as *Catil.* 55. idem fit ceteris. *Jugur.* 85. faciunt idem majoribus suis.

amini censeo[1]; deliquere homines adolescentuli, per ambitionem; atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Næ[2], ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. Scilicet res ipsa[3] aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime; sed inertia et mollitia animi, alius alium exspectantes, cunctamini, dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis sæpe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospera omnia cedunt[4]: ubi secordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros, T. Manlius Torquatus[5] bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit; atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse

[1] *Misercamini censeo*, "have compassion, I advise you," (ironically).

[2] *Næ* or *ne*, "yes," *val.* Comp. *Jugur.* 15. næ ille graves pœnas reddet, 85. næ illi falsi sunt. Cic. *in Catil.* ii. 3. næ illi vehementer errant.

[3] *Scilicet res ipsa*, etc., "in good sooth the affair is a perilous one; but you, for your part, have no fear, as you say: yes indeed, but you do fear, and most exceedingly."

[4] *Prospera omnia cedunt*, "every thing ends well."

[5] *T. Manlius Torquatus.* For the story of Manlius, who, as imperator, caused his son to be put to death by military execution for engaging in combat contrary to orders, see Liv. viii. 7. Sallust and Dion. Hal. refer this event to a Gallic war; but other writers to a war with the Latins. Sallust's error arose probably from his confounding this occasion with that on which Manlius won the collar (torquis) from the Gaulish champion.

pudicitiæ, si famæ suæ, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiæ, nisi iterum[1] jam patriæ bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cœpario loquar? Quibus si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset[2], non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus[3] esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget[4]: alii intra mœnia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occulte potest: quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: quum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxima pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii, et legatorum Allobrogum, convicti confessique sint, cædem, incendia, alia fœda atque crudelia facinora in cives patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de manifestis[5] rerum capitalium, more majorum[6], supplicium sumendum."

[1] *Nisi iterum*, "unless this is now the second time," referring probably to the former abortive conspiracy of Catiline. See ch. 18.

[2] *Si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset*, "if they had ever reflected at all."

[3] *Peccato locus*, "if this were an occasion on which you might err with impunity."

[4] *Faucibus urget*, "has seized you by the throat;" as a robber or beast of prey. Comp. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 31: cum faucibus premeretur. Val. Max. v. 3. 3: faucibus apprehensam rempublicam strangulari passus. Plaut. *Cas.* v. 3. 4: manifesto faucibus teneor.

[5] *Manifestis*. Comp. *Jugur.* 35: manifestus tanti sceleris. Plaut. *Truc.* i. 2. 30: manifestam mendacii.

[6] *More majorum*, i. e. to be strangled in prison: the ancient mode of execution in use before the abolition of capital punishment by the lex Sempronia. When it was proposed, in the reign of Nero, that Antistius should be executed *more majorum*, it was urged that the sentence should

LIII. Postquam Cato adsedit[1], consulares omnes, itemque senatus magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt; alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato clarus atque magnus[2] habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat[3]. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus, domi militiæque, mari atque terra, præclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere[4], quæ res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam sæpenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse[5]; facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos[6] fuisse. Ac mihi multa agi-

be commuted to banishment: for, carnificem et laqueum pridem abolita. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 48.

[1] *Adsedit*, "took his seat;" in which sense the present *adsido* is used, not *adsideo*. Comp. Plaut. *Bacch.* iii. 3. 28. Adsido, accurrunt servi, soccos detrahunt. Cic. *Acad.* i. 4. adsidamus si videtur. Ter. *Heaut.* i. 1. 72. eo mulier adsidat.

[2] *Clarus atque magnus*. Comp. Tac. *Agric.* 18. clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola. Lucan, ix. 202. clarum et venerabile nomen.

[3] *Sicuti ille censuerat*. The decree is said to have been made in accordance with Cato's opinion, not as if he had been the only speaker on that side, but because his speech was the most effective, and had evidently carried the point. See Cicero to Atticus, xii. 21. cur ego in sententiam Catonis? quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus eandem rem comprehenderat. He insists that Cato's merit lay in recommending his own (i. e. Cicero's) policy, whereas M. Brutus, in writing a panegyric on his uncle Cato, had made it appear as if the capital punishment had been Cato's original suggestion. Much weight cannot be given to Brutus's authority on this point, but it is in some degree corroborated by the silence of Sallust, regarding the part which Cicero claimed in the business.

[4] *Forte lubuit attendere*: "It has chanced that I have chosen to turn my attention to the inquiry," &c.

[5] *Contendisse......toleravisse*, scil. *pop. Romanum*.

[6] *Ante Romanos*, "to have surpassed the R." Comp. for this use of the prep. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 55. Classicus nobilitate ante alios. *Ann.* i. 27. Lentulus ante alios ætate et gloria belli.

tanti[1] constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus[2] respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effeta ætate parentum[3], multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, et C. Cæsar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia, prope æqualia[4] fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii[5]. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus: huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiendo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis perni-

[1] *Multa agitanti*, "on much reflection."

[2] *Rursus*, i. q. *contra*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 80. neque enim eminentes virtutes sectabatur, et rursus vitia oderat. Cic. *De Fin.* iii. 10. neque in bonis numerata sit, neque rursus in malis.

[3] *Effeta ætate parentum.* Ætate is introduced on the conjecture of Dietsch: "as when parents have grown old and exhausted." For *effeta ætas*, comp. Virg. *Æn.* vii. 440:
Sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus.
The readings of the MSS. *effeta parente, effetæ parentum*, cannot be explained satisfactorily.

[4] *Genus, ætas...æqualia.* Cato was of a plebeian, Cæsar of a patrician family; both however ennobled by public honours. Cato was thirty-three, Cæsar thirty-eight years of age. Of Cæsar's eloquence Quintilian says, *Inst. Orat.* x. 1. 114. C. vero Cæsar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur.

[5] *Alia alii*, scil. *gloria*.

cies: illius facilitas; hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo, Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua negligere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum[1] esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum[2] exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente[3] abstinentia certabat: esse, quam videri, bonus[4] malebat: ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factum ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, antecapere[5], ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros[6], quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, dispositis præsidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit ceteris per prætores. Est

[1] *Dono dignum*, "fitting to give," i.e. consistent with proper principles.

[2] *Novum bellum*, "a fresh war," the conduct of which he might have for his own. Pompey had monopolized the conduct of the last great war in the East.

[3] *Cum innocente*, "with the pure and incorrupt." So *innocentia* is opposed to *avaritia* in c. 12, and *Jugur.* 46.

[4] *Esse quam videri bonus.* This may be taken from Æschylus, (*Sept. c. Theb.* 589,) οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει. The idea, however, is common. Comp. Cic. *De Amic.* virtute ipsa non tam multi præditi esse quam videri volunt. Martial, viii. 38. Refert sis bonus an velis videri. Vell. ii. 35, speaking also of Cato, nunquam recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat. For Cato's character, see particularly the fine panegyric in Lucan, ii. 380, foll.

[5] *Noctem...antecapere*, "to anticipate nightfall."

[6] *Triumviros*, scil. *capitales*: magistrates who had the charge of the prisons and of public executions. Hence triumvirale supplicium, Tac. *Ann.* v. 9.

locus in carcere, quod Tullianum adpellatur[1], ubi paullulum ascenderis[2] ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta[3]: sed incultu, tenebris, odore, fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, vindices[4] rerum capitalium quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissima gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cœpario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum.

LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit[5]; cohortes, pro numero militum complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum[1] expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudes, portabant. Sed, postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, ad urbem modo, modo in Galliam versus[2], castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat prope diem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus[3] initio ad eum magnæ copiæ concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus[4] existimans, videri caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. Sed, postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, Cethego, ceteris, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum: plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reli-

[1] *Quod Tullianum appellatur.* The Carcer, a public prison, under the eastern side of the Capitoline hill, was built by Ancus, and enlarged by Servius Tullius. Varro, *de L. L.* iv. 32. carcer a coercendo, quod exire prohibentur: in hoc pars quæ sub terra Tullianum, quod additum a Tullio rege. Comp. Liv. xxiv. 22. This place now exists, and is used as a chapel to a church built over it, in honour of the supposed imprisonment there of St Peter. Formerly criminals were let down into it by a hole in the chamber above.

[2] *Ascenderis.* Many editions read *escenderis,* with the same sense, but with no authority. Some MSS. give *descenderis,* which would imply descent within the walls of the *carcer* to the chamber called the *Tullianum* on the left hand, the entrance to which was reached by twelve steps. But the phrase *ubi ascenderis,* seems to imply some common passengers' route, and refers, probably, to the ascent of the street in which the *carcer* stood, from the for m, which agrees with the existing localities.

[3] *Camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta,* "a ceiling vaulted with stone arches."

[4] *Vindices.* Not the triumvirs themselves, but the *carnifices,* common executioners, under their orders.

[5] *Instituit,* "plans." He had not men enough to form two legions complete, but he created the regular number of cohorts, maniples and centuries for each, appointed officers, and filled up the ranks as fast as new recruits arrived.

[1] *Numero hominum,* with their complement of men. This is not superfluous, though *expleverat* follows, inasmuch as the writer wishes to mark that the *number* was complete, but they were incompletely *armed.*

[2] *In Galliam versus.* For this construction compare Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 33, vii. 8; *Jugur.* 58.

[3] *Cujus,* supply, *rei* or *generis.* Comp. Liv. xlii. 8. bonaque ut iis, quicquid ejus recuperari possit, reddantur.

[4] *Alienum suis rationibus,* "inconsistent with his policy."

quos Catilina per montes asperos, magnis itineribus, in agrum Pistoriensem[1] abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum[2] eadem illa existimans, quæ supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit[3], qua illi descensus erat [in Galliam properanti]. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat; utpote qui magno exercitu, locis æquioribus expeditus, in fuga[4] sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ, neque præsidii ullam spem; optimum factum ratus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum confligere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit:

LVIII. "Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido, exercitum oratione imperatoris, fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura

[1] *In agrum Pistoriensem*, "the territory of Pistoria," modern Pistoia, in Etruria. Catiline had fixed his quarters at Fæsulæ. Coins have been found buried there, with dates reaching to this year, and no later, evidently to escape the search of his pillaging bands. Pistoia lay north-west of Fæsulæ, among the Apennines, on the road to Gaul. The direct road to the Cisalpine province lay to the north, through Bononia, but Celer occupied this. Besides, Catiline wanted to get to the Allobroges in the Transalpine.

[2] *Ex difficultate rerum*, "from the difficult circumstances he was in;" i.q. *propter difficultatem*.

[3] *Consedit*: i. e. *castra posuit*. Comp. Cæs. *B. G.* i. 21.

[4] *In fuga*: i. e. *fugientem*.

aut moribus[1], inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti caussam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe præsidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum omnes intelligitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia[2], obstant: diutius in his locis esse, si maxime[3], animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem atque patriam, in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde[4], coloniæ atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; illis su-

[1] *Natura aut moribus*, "natural or acquired."

[2] *Unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia*, "one on the side of the city, the other on the side of Gaul."

[3] *Si maxime*, "however much;" i. q. *etiam si maxime*.

[4] *Commeatus abunde*: scil. *erunt*. Comp. c. 21. quibus mala abunde omnia erant. *Jugur.* 87. Romanos laxius licentiusque futuros. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 106. recte tibi semper erunt res. So the adverbs *impune, adversus*, are joined with the verb subst.

pervacaneum[1] est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. Quo audacius adgredimini, memores pristinæ virtutis. Licuit nobis, cum summa turpitudine, in exilio ætatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. Si hæc relinquere vultis, audacia opus est: nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in prælio maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra æstimo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus vestra me hortantur; præterea necessitudo quæ etiam timidos fortes facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiæ loci. Quod si virtuti vestræ fortuna inviderit, cavete, inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam, virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet[2], atque instructos ordines in locum

[1] *Supervacaneum*, "superfluous," "a work of supererogation;" i.e. they already possess all the things that we are compelled to fight for, life, liberty, &c., and it is a mere matter of choice with them to fight for the ascendancy of the nobles.

[2] *Signa canere jubet*, "orders the trumpets to sound." I understand *signa* however as the object, subaud. *tubicines* the subject, as in *Jugur.* 99. Marius jubet tubicines simul omnes signa canere. But this subject and object are rarely expressed together. We have Liv. xxiv. 46. cornicines canere jubent. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* i. 38. cornicines occinuerunt. But it is more common to meet with the phrase in the text. Comp. Liv. i. 1; xxiv. 15; xxvii. 47. Some critics take *signa* as the subject, in which case the idiom is identical with the English given above.

æquum deducit: dein, remotis omnium equis[1], quo militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes[2] exercitum, pro loco atque copiis, instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montes, et, ab dextra, rupes aspera[3], octo cohortes in fronte constituit: reliqua signa[4] in subsidio arctius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnes lectos, et evocatos[5], præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum, in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, Fæsulanum quemdam[6] in sinistra parte curare[7] jubet: ipse tum libertis et colonis[8] propter aquilam[9] adsistit, quam, bello Cimbrico, C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedi-

[1] *Omnium equis.* Comp. Cæs. *B. G.* i. 25. Cæsar primum suo deinde omnium e conspectu remotis equis, ut æquato omnium periculo spem fugæ tolleret.

[2] *Ipse pedes*, "himself on foot;" as a foot-soldier. Comp. Senec. *Ep.* 104. per medias Africæ solitudines pedes duxit exercitum. Lucan, ix. 587. præcedit anheli Militis ora pedes.

[3] *Rupes aspera*: sub. *erat.* The MSS. read *rupe*, which can only be explained, aspera (loca) ab dextra rupe, and may be pronounced inadmissible.

[4] *Reliqua signa*, "the rest of his forces." Every maniple had its own standard.

[5] *Evocatos*; veterans discharged or entitled to their discharge, but continuing to serve, or returning to service, with higher pay and peculiar privileges.

[6] *Fæsulanum quemdam.* Plutarch gives him the name of Furius.

[7] *Curare*, "to command;" a proper military term. Comp. *Jugur.* 46, 57, and elsewhere. Tacitus sometimes adds the object. *Annal.* i. 31. inferiorem exercitum A. Cæcina curabat.

[8] *Libertis et colonis*, "his own freedmen and the Sullan veterans settled in colonies:" a chosen band of men attached to his person.

[9] *Propter aquilam*, "by his eagle." A silver eagle, belonging to one of the legions of Marius, which Catiline kept as a sort of amulet. See Cic. *in Catil.* i. 9.

bus æger[1], quod prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio[2] legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortes veteranas, quas tumulti caussa[3] conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones inermes[4], pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis, cernere. Homo militaris[5], quod amplius annos triginta tribunus[6], aut præfectus[7], aut legatus[8], aut prætor[9], cum magna gloria fuerat, plerosque ipsos[10] factaque

[1] *Pedibus æger.* Antonius is surmised to have feigned sickness, to escape the necessity of fighting with Catiline, in whose designs he may have been partly implicated. See Dion. xxxvii. 39.

[2] *M. Petreio.* The same who was joined in command with Afranius, as a legatus of Pompey in Spain, and was there defeated by Cæsar, A.U. 705. He caused himself to be killed in single combat with Juba, king of Numidia, after the disastrous battle of Thapsus.

[3] *Tumulti caussa. Tumultus,* a sudden occasion of peril from a foreign foe, when the ordinary rules of service are suspended, and the citizens generally liable to be called out for the defence of the state. A *tumultus* was usually proclaimed when the Gauls threatened an invasion, as was said to be the case now

[4] *Inermes,* "without the regular arms of legionaries."

[5] *Homo militaris,* "a man of military experience." Comp. the same phrase above, ch. 45.

[6] *Tribunus:* scil. *militum.* There were six of these to each legion. In early times they commanded the legion successively day by day, and even at this period a tribune might still be called by courtesy, the commander of a legion. Horace, at the age of 22, joined the army of M. Brutus in Greece, and was appointed a tribunus. He says of himself: Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno. It is impossible that so young and obscure a man could have been actual commander of a legion.

[7] *Præfectus.* The commander of the auxiliary horse, appointed by the imperator from among his Roman officers.

[8] *Legatus.* The consul's or imperator's lieutenant, generally in command of a detachment.

[9] *Prætor:* i. q. *imperator.* Qui præit exercitui.

[10] *Plerosque ipsos,* "most of them personally."

eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortes paullatim incedere jubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis[1] prælium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis[2] concurrunt; pila omittunt[3]; gladiis res geritur. Veterani[4], pristinæ virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare: illi haud timidi resistunt: maxima vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis accersere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire; strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere[5], cohortem prætoriam[6] in medios hostes inducit; eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Fæsulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt[7]. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum

[1] *Ferentarii.* A word of doubtful origin; it means, however, light troops, who used slings and stones.

[2] *Cum infestis signis,* "with opposing standards." Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 51. legiones infestis contra hostes signis constiterunt.

[3] *Pila omittunt.* So in Cæs. *B. G.* i. 52, vii. 88. nostri omissis pilis gladio rem gerunt. Comp. Lucan, vii. 490:

Odiis solus civilibus ensis
Sufficit, et dextras Romana in viscera ducit.

[4] *Veterani,* i. e. the soldiers of the republic, referring to the *veteranæ cohortes* just mentioned.

[5] *Magna vi tendere,* "to exert himself vigorously." Comp. Virg. *Æn.* xii. 553. vasto certamine tendunt. Liv. xxxii. 32. quod summa vi ut tenderet, mandaverat.

[6] *Cohortem prætoriam.* The imperator's body-guard.

[7] *In primis pugnantes cadunt,* "foremost fighting fall," or, "are among the first to fall." The first seems the preferable interpretation.

paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinæ dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. Sed, confecto prælio, tum vero[1] cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios[2] cohors prætoria disjecerat[3], paullo diversius[4], sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam[5] spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus[6], in vultu retinens. Postremo, ex omni copia, neque in prælio, neque in fuga, quisquam civis ingenuus[7] captus est. Ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxta[8] pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat: nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris, visendi, aut spoliandi gratia, processerant,

1 *Tum vero.* For this redundant use of the conjunction, comp. Liv. xxii. 11. ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello dictator retulit. xxvi. 31. reductis in curiam legatis tum consul, etc. See a nearly similar construction above, c. 51. postquam respublica adolevit ... tum lex Porcia, etc.

2 *Medios,* "in the centre." See the last chapter.

3 *Disjecerat,* "had broken."

4 *Paullo diversius,* "somewhat more scattered;" subaud. *quidem.*

5 *Etiam:* i. q. *adhuc.* Comp. Ter. *Andr.* i. 1. 89. non satis pernosti me etiam. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 485. etiam currus etiam arma tenentem.

6 *Vivus,* "while living;" i. q. *vivens.* Comp. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 653:

quæ gratia currum
Armorumque fuit vivis.

7 *Civis ingenuus.* A free citizen born of free citizens.

8 *Ita...juxta,* "so equally unsparing had they all been both of their own and their opponents' lives."

volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum, reperiebant: fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum lætitia[1], mœror, luctus, atque gaudia agitabantur.

1 *Lætitia* properly differs from *gaudium,* as *joy* from *gladness; mœror* from *luctus,* as *sorrow* from *mourning: luctus,* from *lugeo,* is properly, mourning for the dead. See note on ch. 48. *Lætitia,* etc. "Joy and sorrow, mourning and triumph:" the former words may signify the *inward feeling,* the latter the *outward expression. Luctus* is the plural, answering to *gaudia.* Lucan, vii. 705:

Lachrymas luctusque remitte.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

JUGURTHA.

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I. FALSO queritur de natura sua[1] genus humanum, quod, imbecilla atque ævi brevis, forte potius, quam virtute regatur. Nam contra[2], reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius invenies[3]; magisque naturæ industriam hominum, quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux[4] atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur[5],

[1] *Falso queritur de natura sua.* It deserves to be remarked, as a proof of the nicety of ear cultivated by the Romans, that Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* ix. 4) complains of the first clause of this sentence as being ἔνρυθμος, rhythmical. He has been pointing out some instances of metrical clauses occurring in prose composition, and goes on to say, nec minore autem cura vitandum est quicquid ἔνρυθμον quale est apud Sallustium, *falso queritur de natura sua.* Such nice perceptions had been lost in the time of the grammarian Diomedes. He observes, Sallustium quoque dicunt principio Jugurthæ a rhythmo cœpisse. Verum hoc totum genus reprehensionis ejusmodi est, ut si calumniatores istos audiamus sit conticescendum; quia nulla non pars orationis in aliquam rhythmi aut metri speciem potest figurari. Putsch, *Gramm. Latin.* p. 464.

[2] *Contra,* i. q. *e contrario, ex altera parte,* "on the contrary."

[3] *Reputando...invenies,* "you will discover upon reflection."

[4] *Sed dux...*Hæc Stoicorum magniloquentiam sapiunt. Gerlach. Comp. Apuleius, *Apolog.* p. 486. regalis animi pars, ratione pollens, verticem hominis velut arcem et regiam insedit.

[5] *Grassatur: grassor,* frequent. from *gradior:* signifies 1. *idling, lounging, hanging on* or *about;* hence 2. applied to flatterers and parasites who fawn upon the great (*grassari* antiqui ponebant pro *adulari.* Festus), to ruffians and footpads, who infest the highways; and 3. to undertaking, setting about any enterprize, in a good or bad sense, especially with zeal and resolution. The verb is generally intransitive, sometimes followed by *in* or *ad:* in poetical language it is used transitively, as Stat. *Theb.* viii. 571. grassatus cuspide turmas.

abunde pollens potensque[1] et clarus est, neque fortunæ eget; quippe quæ probitatem, industriam, alias artes bonas, neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessum datus est[2]; perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus[3], ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere[4], naturæ infirmitas accusatur: suam quisque culpam auctores[5] ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque[6] etiam periculosa, petunt; neque regerentur[7] magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, uti, pro mortalibus, gloria æterni fierent.

[1] *Pollens potensque : pollens*, "abounding in strength;" *potens*, "efficient in the use of one's strength." Dœderl. *Synon.* iv. 163. But such nice distinctions are not always observed. The phrase was probably familiar. Comp. Orell. *Inscript.* i. 303. Herculi victori pollenti potenti invicto.

[2] *Ad inertiam....pessum datus est*, "he has sunk into sloth, &c." The accus. of a noun, perhaps, i. q. *βυσσὸς*, "the bottom," used adverbially, (subaud. *secundum*): *pessum dari*, "to be sent to the bottom." The notion of its meaning, "cast under foot," as if connected with *pes*, is derived, perhaps, from the apparent similitude of the words.

[3] *Usus......accusatur*, an *anacoluthon*: the construction in which the subject agrees with *usus* is dropped, and another commenced. Transl. "But if a man, ensnared by unworthy desires, has sunk into sloth and sensual voluptuousness, brief is his enjoyment of his pernicious appetites; his strength, his time, his talents, waste away through idleness, and then forsooth, the infirmity of nature bears the blame."

[4] *Defluxere.* Comp. Senec. *De Brev. Vitæ*, 1. ubi vita per luxum ac negligentiam defluit.

[5] *Auctores*, scil. *culpæ*, "the culprits themselves."

[6] *Multum*, "in many cases;" "frequently."

[7] *Neque regerentur*, etc.: *homines* is the subject to the verbs *regerentur* and *regerent*. *Neque...et* : men would not, *on the one hand*, be ruled by, but would themselves rule over chance; and, *on the other*, would arrive at such a pitch of greatness, as instead of being mere mortals, to become in fame immortal.

II. Nam, uti genus hominum compositum ex anima[1] et corpore, ita res cunctæ, studiaque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animi, naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies[2], magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis corporis, alia hujuscemodi omnia, brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo, corporis et fortunæ bonorum, ut initium, sic finis est[3]; omniaque orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus[4], æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis[5], per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt; cum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi[6], quibus summa claritudo paratur.

[1] *Anima. Anima* is the principle of life: *animus*, of thought and will. So Nonius, v. 20. animo sapimus, anima vivimus. Here *anima* is used for *animus*, figuratively, as the vivifying principle of intelligence, which distinguishes man from the brutes. In the following clause, *animus* is employed more correctly.

[2] *Præclara facies*, "remarkable beauty." *Facies* for beauty generally. Juv. x. 293. Sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia qualem ipsa habuit. Lucan. x. 61. facie Spartana nocenti.

[3] *Ut initium sic finis est*, "as they have a beginning, so have they an end."

[4] *Incorruptus*, i. e. *qui corrumpi nequit.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 35. Galba minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus; with the force of an adj. in *bilis*.

[5] *Corporis gaudiis.* Cicero, *De Fin.* ii. 4, restricts *gaudium* to mental pleasures, while *voluptas*, he says, may be used either of mind or body. But as Epicurus affirmed, that even the pleasures of the body were really referable to mental perceptions, he allows that, in this sense, the body can be said *gaudere*. *Tusc.* v. 33.

[6] *Artes animi*, "occupations which exercise the intellect."

III. Verum ex his[1] magistratus et imperia[2], postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minime mihi hac tempestate cupienda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos[3] datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem is fuit[4], utique[5] tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut parentes[6], quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est[7]; cum præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, aliaque hostilia, portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando, nisi odium, quærere[8], extremæ dementiæ est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari[9].

[1] *Ex his*, "of these occupations."

[2] *Magistratus et imperia.* The *magistratus*, scil. dictators, consuls, prætors, censors, &c., elected by the people at the *comitia centuriata*, had civil *imperium* of various kinds in the city, and were said *in imperio esse;* when any such officers went into the provinces, they exercised military *imperium* through a *lex curiata*, and were then said *cum imperio esse.*

[3] *Honos*, in its technical sense, "civic distinction," i.q. *honores.* Comp. Liv. xlii. 22. quo die novi magistratus inituri erant honorem.

[4] *Is fuit:* so Kritz reads, on the authority of several MSS. The common reading is *jus*, or *vis*.

[5] *Utique.* So the MSS. generally, but omitted in most editions: the word implies, *forsooth*, or, *as they think.*

[6] *Patriam, aut parentes.* Comp. *Catil.* 6. patriam parentesque armis tegere. *Jugur.* 87. armis patriam parentesque tegi, where *parentes* can only mean *parents*, or generally, *relatives.* But *parentes* is used sometimes for *subjects*, i. q. *obedientes:* as *Jug.* 102. parentes abunde habemus, amicorum nunquam satis fuit. Here the disjunctive *aut* marks an opposition between the two objects, and *parentes* may best be construed "subjects."

[7] *Importunum est*, "comes to no good end." However much the usurper may employ his power to reform abuses, still the revolution by which he has risen will engender worse evils. These remarks are supposed to point to the usurpation of Cæsar, or of the second Triumvirate.

[8] *Quærere*, i. q. *quærendo consequi.* Comp. *Jugur.* 85, 87, 89; Liv. xxv. 6.

[9] *Gratificari.* The infin. depends upon the combined noun and verb *lubido tenet*, i. q. *juvat.* So *Catil.* 30. quibus mos erat (i.e. qui solebant), vendere. It is unnecessary to explain the infin. in these places as *put for* the gerund. *Decus gratificari*, i. q. decus gratis concedere, "to sacrifice honour and liberty."

IV. Ceterum, ex aliis negotiis quæ ingenio exercentur[1], in primis magno usui est memoria[2] rerum gestarum: cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, prætereundum puto; simul, ne, per insolentiam[3] quis existimet, memet, studium meum[4] laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiæ imponant; certe, quibus maxima industria videtur, salutare plebem[5], et conviviis gratiam quærere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus[6] magistratus adeptus sim, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint; et postea quæ genera hominum[7]

[1] *Quæ ingenio exercentur*, i.e. *tractantur*, "which mind has to do with."

[2] *Memoria:* objectively, i.q. *memoratio*, "the narration."

[3] *Per insolentiam*, "from vanity."

[4] *Studium meum.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 43, evidently in imitation of this passage: ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer.

[5] *Salutare plebem.* The candidate saluted and took by the hand, *prensavit*, the citizens whose votes he solicited. Comp. Liv. xxiii. 4. Hinc senatores, omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria, plebem adulari, salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere epulis. Cicero views the custom on its favourable side: *de Petit. Consul.* 7. nam in cæteris molestiis habet hoc tamen petitio commodi, ut possis honeste, quod in cætera vita non queas, quoscunque velis adjungere ad amicitiam; quibuscum si alio tempore agas, ut te utantur, absurde facere videare; in petitione autem nisi id agas, et cum multis et diligenter, nullus petitor esse videare. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 16; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* x. 10. When Crassus sued for the consulship, he feasted the whole Roman people at ten thousand tables.

[6] *Quibus ego temporibus*, etc. For the offices obtained by Sallust, see the notice of his life.

[7] *Quæ genera hominum.* Upon this point Sallust speaks with bitterness, having been himself ejected from the senate for imputed immorality by the censors, in the year 704. But he alludes particularly to the foreigners, soldiers, and other unworthy characters, who were thrust into the order by Cæsar. Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 80.

in senatum pervenerint; profecto existimabunt, me magis merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe audivi, Q. Maximum[1], P. Scipionem[2], præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, CUM MAJORUM IMAGINES[3] INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSUME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI: scilicet[4] non ceram illam, neque figuram[5], tantam vim in sese habere; sed, memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam[6] atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium his moribus[7], quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria, cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire[8], furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi prætura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi, per se ipsa clara,

[1] *Q. Maximum.* Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator.

[2] *P. Scipionem.* Scipio Africanus the elder, the most illustrious of the name.

[3] *Imagines*, "the images;" i. e. waxen busts "of their ancestors." The busts of persons who had attained to curule magistracies were preserved in the family mansion, and displayed publicly at the funerals of their descendants.

[4] *Scilicet*, "forsooth, they said," &c.

[5] *Neque ceram neque figuram*, "neither the memorial in wax, nor the likeness."

[6] *Eorum famam*, "the renown of the former, i. e. of the ancestors."

[7] *His moribus*, "in the present condition of public virtue;" i.e. "when public morals are so depraved." Comp. Liv. vi. 4. Capitolium ... opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum. Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 2. quod munus reipublicæ majus offerre possimus, quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem, his præsertim moribus.

[8] *Nobilitatem antevenire*, "to outstrip the nobles."

magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui sustinent virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque[1] processi, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo[2].

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, rege Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et atrox, variaque victoria[3] fuit: dein, quia tum primum superbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum est[4]; quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiæ processit, uti studiis civilibus[5] bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem faceret. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra[6] repetam; quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem[7] nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxime adtriverat,

[1] *Altius:* i. q. *in mare altum.* Comp. Liv. xxxi. 1. provideo animo, quicquid progredior, in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum invehi.

[2] *Redeo*, "I resume the intention I have above professed of writing a history."

[3] *Varia...victoria:* abl. case, as in Justin. iv. 2. diuque varia victoria cum tyrannis dimicatum, "sometimes the Romans were victorious, sometimes the Numidians."

[4] *Obviam itum est*, "was opposed." Late writers used a verb *obviare*, as Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 5. quibus obviandum non erat.

[5] *Uti studiis civilibus*, etc. "the vehemence of party-strife resulted in war and the desolation of Italy." Lucan seems to have referred to this passage when about to write of Curio's African campaign. See *Phars.* iv. 687.

Nec tantum *studiis civilibus* arma parabat,
Privatæ sed *bella* dabat Juba concitus iræ.
Hunc quoque quo *superos humanaque* polluit anno &c.

[6] *Supra:* i. e. *ex iis quæ supra sunt.* So, rem longe repetere, i.q. ex iis quæ *longe distant.*

[7] *Post magnitudinem*, etc., i.e. "no man injured Italy so much, since the period when Rome had become powerful, as Hannibal." Before that period Pyrrhus and the Gauls, Italiæ opes

Masinissa, rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen[1] ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora[2] fecerat: ob quæ, victis Carthaginiensibus, et capto Syphace[3], cujus in Africa magnum atque late[4] imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbes et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta[5] nobis permansit: imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit[6]. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum

attriverant. Comp. *Catil.* 5. hunc post dominationem L. Sullæ lubido maxima invaserat reip. capiendæ: "No man had been so ambitious of power since the usurpation of Sulla."

[1] *Cui postea Africano cognomen.* P. Cornelius Scipio received the surname Africanus for his victory over Hannibal at Zama, and the triumphant conclusion of the second Punic war, A.U. 553. B.C. 201. His sons Publius and Cnæus bore the same surname: the elder of them adopted a younger son of his relative L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, who became known as P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus minor, more commonly called Scipio Æmilianus. He was the conqueror of Numantia in Spain (A.U. 621), and opposed the agrarian laws of Tiberius Gracchus.

[2] *Rei militaris facinora:* i.q. *militaria facinora.* So Cic. *pro Mur.* 10. rei militaris virtus.

[3] *Syphace.* Syphax was a Numidian chief, who warred with the Carthaginians about the year 540 of the city. He entered into alliance with the Romans, but afterwards betrayed them, and connected himself with his former enemies. After various reverses he was finally defeated by the Romans. Polybius asserts that he was led in Scipio's triumph, A.U. 553, but Livy relates that he died in confinement previously. Silius Italicus follows Livy's account, and represents the *effigy* of the captive as carried among others in the procession. xvii. 630:

Ante Syphax, *feretro residens,* captiva premebat
Lumina, et auratæ servabant colla catenæ,...
Mox victas tendens Carthago ad sidera palmas
Ibat, et *effigies* oræ jam lenis Iberæ.

[4] *Magnum atque late.* Both words are to be taken adverbially. Comp. Virg. *G.* iii. 28. magnumque fluentem Nilum. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37. nuntiavere accolæ Euphratem sponte et immensum attolli.

[5] *Bona atque honesta,* "good and true."

[6] *Imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit,* i.e. "his sway ceased only with his death." At his decease the grants made him by the Romans reverted to the republic, and his son Micipsa retained authority only in his patrimonial possessions.

solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa, fratribus, morbo absumtis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat[1], eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi[2] habuit.

VI. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu[3], neque inertiæ corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare: et, cum omnes gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus, aut in primis ferire: plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existimans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore; tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta sua ætate et parvis liberis[4], magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer negotio permotus, multa

[1] *Dereliquerat.* So Kritz on the authority of the MSS. for the simple *reliquerat.* The preposition *de* conveys a notion of contemptuous abandonment.

[2] *Domi;* implying, *in domum suam ascitum;* "adopted into his own family."

[3] *Luxu:* the dat. case. This use of *u* for *ui* is confined, according to Priscian, vii. 18, to poetry; and adopted for the convenience of metre. Julius Cæsar, however, according to Gellius, *N.A.*, iv. 16, considered it the true form of the termination. In the MSS. of Sallust it occurs frequently, but not always.

[4] *Exacta sua ætate et parvis liberis,* "being himself old and his children still young;" exigere vitam, ætatem: to bring life to a close.

cum animo suo volvebat [1]. Terrebat natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas suæque et liberorum ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit [2]: ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa [3]; ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus [4], ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum [5] popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello Numantino [6], Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel ostentando virtutem, vel hostium sævitia [7], facile eum occasurum, præfecit Numidis quos in His-

[1] *Cum animo...volvebat.* So, *cum animo habere, Jugur.* 11. Comp. 13, 70, 93, 108.

[2] *Transversos agit*, "draws or hurries away from the right to the wrong course." Senec. *Epist.* 108. ne resistere quidem licet quum cœpit transversos agere felicitas.

[3] *In Jugurtham accensa,* "inflamed in *favour* of Jugurtha." So Tac. *Ann.* iii. 4. studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam.

[4] *Circumventus*, "embarrassed."

[5] *Acceptum*, "acceptable," "agreeable." Virg. *G.* ii. 101. Dis et hominibus acceptum. Varro, *R. R.* iii. 16. Dis et mensis accepta secundis. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 15. gratum acceptumque.

[6] *Bello Numantino.* See Liv. *Epit.* lvii. lix.; Flor. ii. 17; Vell. ii. 4. Numantia, a city of the Celtiberi in Spain. Its site, according to Mannert, was at the confluence of the two forks of the Douro, where that river bends to the west, a little south of Soria. For its position, see Appian, *Hisp.* 76, 90; Strabo, iii. p. 246. The Numantians destroyed themselves to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, A.U. 611.

[7] *Sævitia:* i.q. *ferocia*, "prowess." Comp. Virg. *Æn.* xi. 910. Et sævum Ænean agnovit Turnus in armis.

paniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore, multaque cura, præterea modestissime parendo, et sæpe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis [1] est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus [2] consilio; quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum [3] ex audacia temeritatem, adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat [4]. Huc accedebat munificentia animi, et ingenii sollertia, queis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures, novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud

[1] *Difficillimum in primis.* The superl. with *in primis* is unusual and not strictly correct. But comp. Cic. *in Verr.* iii. 27. homini in primis improbissimo. So Liv. xli. 23. ego maxime gravissimam rem arbitror.

[2] *Bonus*, "excellent." When joined with an ablative limiting its application *bonus*, i. q. *eximius*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3. Agrippam bonum militia geminatis consulatibus extulit. Liv. iv. 2. sic pace bonos sic bello fieri.

[3] *Alterum...alterum*, "the latter," "the former;" this transposition is called by the grammarians chiasmus.

[4] *Frustra erat*, "was unsuccessful." The adverb for the adjective with the verb substantive. Comp. *Catil.* 21. quibus mala abunde omnia erant. 58. commeatus abunde. *Jugur.* 87. Romanos remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28. teterrima quæque abunde fuere. See note on *Catil.* 58.

socios, clari magis[1], quam honesti: qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, SI MICIPSA REX OCCIDISSET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIÆ POTIRETUR: IN IPSO MAXIMAM VIRTUTEM[2], ROMÆ OMNIA VENALIA ESSE. Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse reverti domum decrevit; donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium[3] abduxit[4], ibique secreto monuit, "uti potius publice[5], quam privatim, amicitiam populi R. coleret; neu quibus[6] largiri insuesceret; periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum[7]; sin properantius pergeret[8], suamet ipsum pecunia præcipitem casurum."

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipsæ redderet, dimisit: earum sententia hæc erat: "Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit;

[1] *Clari magis*, etc. So Livy, viii. 27. clari magis inter populares quam honesti. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 10. Vibius Crispus, inter claros magis quam inter bonos.

[2] *In ipso maximam virtutem.* Inasmuch as, they said, his abilities were unrivalled, and every thing might be got at Rome for money. The causal particle *enim* omitted, as in *Catil.* 39. neque (enim) illis...licuisset.

[3] *Prætorium.* The tent of the imperator, or, as he was originally called, the prætor, i. e. *qui præibat*, "who led the army."

[4] *Abduxit.* Better than the common reading *adduxit*. Comp. Liv. xxx. 14. quosquum egregiis laudibus frequenti prætorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic alloquitur.

[5] *Publice*, "by acting for the general advantage of the republic, rather than by acquiring private friends."

[6] *Neu quibus*, "nor ... to any one."

[7] *Venturum. Venio* used of the unexpected arrival of good or evil fortune. Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 14. Huic hereditas venit testamento propinqui sui. Of spontaneous growth: Virg. *Geo.* i. 54. Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvæ.

[8] *Sin properantius pergeret*, "but if he proceeded in too great a hurry."

quam rem tibi certo scio[1] gaudio esse: nobis ob merita carus est; uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor[2]: en habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo Masinissa." Igitur rex, ubi ea, quæ fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute viri, tum gratia permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere[3] adgressus est; statimque eum adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cum sibi finem vitæ adesse intelligeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse[4].

X. "Parvum ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi[5]; existimans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum me habuit[6].

[1] *Certo scio.* There is equal MS. authority for *certo* and for *certe*. Hand in his *Tursellinus*, ii. 15, makes this distinction, that *certo* expresses the objective certainty or *truth* of a proposition, *certe* the subjective assurance or *belief.*

[2] *Gratulor*, "I congratulate you *thereupon*," i.e. "that Jugurtha is such as I have represented him."

[3] *Beneficiis vincere*, "to win by good offices." Comp. Curtius, vi. 8. etiamsi ipse vel pœnitentia vel beneficio tuo victus quiesceret.

[4] *Verba cum J. habuisse. Verba habere cum aliquo*, "to address a discourse to a person," as Ter. *Hec.* iii. 3. 21. hanc habere orationem mecum. On the other hand, Cic. *Som. Scip.* 1. multis verbis *ultro citroque* habitis, "after much *conversation* together."

[5] *In meum regnum accepi*, "I have admitted to a share in my sovereignty." Comp. Virg. *Æn.* iv. 373.

ejectum litore, egentem
Excepi, et regni demens in parte locavi.

[6] *Neque ea res falsum me habuit.* More emphatic than the simpler phrase

Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua[1] omittam, novissime, rediens[2] Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti: tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti: in Hispania nomen[3] familiæ renovatum est: postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortales est, gloria invidiam vicisti[4]. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitæ finem facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem[5] moneo obtestorque te, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus[6] neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego[7] vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni

fefellit: so, cognitum, perceptum, compertum, occultum *aliquid* habere. But here *res* is the subject, *homo* the object. Comp. 71. ne super tali re suspectum *sese* haberet. 79. quæ res *eos* in magno diuturnoque bello inter sese habuit. See Quintil. ix. 3. 12.

[1] *Egregia tua*, "noble deeds of yours." So Nepos, *Thrasyb.* 3. præclarum hoc Thrasybuli.

[2] *Rediens.* Not i.q. *quum rediisses*, but i.q. *in ipso reditu*, "in returning." The proper sense of the pres. part.; though for want of a perf. part., the other sense sometimes occurs. Glory might be said to accrue to Numidia from the moment the victorious Jugurtha *set out on his return* from the scene of his successes.

[3] *Nomen*, "the glory of our family."

[4] *Invidiam vicisti.* Comp. Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 12.

Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

[5] *Per regni fidem:* i.e. *per eam fidem qua esse decet eum qui regnum obtinet*, "by your royal word."

[6] *Non exercitus*, etc. This is imitated from Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 7. 14. *οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον.*

[7] *Equidem ego.* See note on *Catil.* 51.

eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos[1] te, Jugurtha, qui ætate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam, in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum[2], imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intelligebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore[3] benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, justa[4] magnifice fecerant, reguli[5] in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus[6] ex illis, natura ferox, etiam ante ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas[7] honori du-

[1] *Ante hos. Ante*, implying priority, not in time, but in excellence. Comp. *Catil.* 53. gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse.

[2] *Talem hunc virum*, "this man, so excellent as he is." Comp. *Jugur.* 63. Is ad id locorum talis vir.

[3] *Pro tempore*, "as the occasion required." Comp. *Catil.* 51; *Jugur.* 74.

[4] *Justa*, scil. *funera*, or *officia.* Cæsar says, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 19, justis funeribus confectis; but Cicero, *pro Rosc. Am.* 8, paterno funeri justa solvere. So *justa ferre*, or *dare:* Gr. *τὰ νομιζόμενα*; Festus, in voc. *Præcidanea:* qui mortuo justa non fecisset, id est, glebam non objecisset.

[5] *Reguli*, "petty kings," "chieftains," *δύνασται.* The word is not found in Cicero or Cæsar.

[6] *Minimus:* sc. *natu*, which is generally expressed, unless *filius*, or *ex filiis*, is added, as Liv. i. 53. Sextus filius ejus qui minimus ex tribus erat. Justin, xlii. 5. obsidem Cæsari minimum filium Phraatis ferens. Here *ex illis*, sc. *regulis*, means the sons of Micipsa, who were inferior kings, associated in power with their father.

[7] *Quod apud N.* etc. Comp. the

citur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti ætati concederet, fatigatus[1] a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit[2]: OPORTERE QUINQUENNII[3] CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI; NAM PER EA TEMPORA CONFECTUM ANNIS MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE. Tum IDEM, Hiempsal, PLACERE SIBI, respondit: NAM IPSUM ILLUM[4] TRIBUS PROXIMIS ANNIS[5] ADOPTATIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore, ira et metu anxius, moliri, parare; atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finesque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca pro-

story in Plutarch, *Cato min.* 57, of Juba assuming the place of honour *between* Metellus, Scipio and Cato. But the Romans also, at least at a later period, considered the middle the place of honour. The emperor took his seat in the senate between the consuls for the year. Hence, Sil. Ital. iii. 626, of Domitian.

tarda senectam
Hospitia excipient cœli; solioque Quirinus
Concedet, *mediumque* parens fraterque locabunt.

[1] *Fatigatus*, "importuned." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 29. Galba fatigabat alieni jam imperii Deos.

[2] *Jacit*, "suggests."

[3] *Quinquennii*, "of the five years' interval;" i. e. those during which Micipsa had been incompetent to govern.

[4] *Ipsum illum;* scil. *Jugurtham.*

[5] *Tribus proximis annis*, "within the last three years."

pinqua thesauris[1], alius alio, concessere. Sed Hiempsal, in oppido Thirmida, forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, proximus lictor[2] Jugurthæ, carus acceptusque semper fuerat; quem ille, casu ministrum oblatum, promissis onerat[3], uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum claves adulterinas paret; nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur[4]; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit; atque, ut doctus erat[5], noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui postquam in ædes irrupere, diversi[6] regem quærere; dormientes alios, alios occursantes interficere: scrutari loca abdita: clausa effringere: strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: cum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans se in tugurio mulieris ancillæ[7], quo, initio, pavidus et ignarus loci,

[1] *Loca propinqua thesauris;* i. e. the cities or fortified places in which the royal treasures were deposited, or which secured the command of them. No such place as Thirmida is known. Hippo (the modern Bona) and Cirta (Constantina) were the principal cities of Numidia.

[2] *Proximus lictor.* The lictors walked before the magistrates at Rome, and the last of these, who immediately preceded the magistrate, was therefore *proximus* to him. The Roman writers constantly apply their own terms to foreign officers, &c.: *lictor* means here, "an attendant," *satelles; proximus*, "most confidential."

[3] *Onerat.* Comp. Liv. xxiv. 13. Hannibal oneratos ingentibus promissis domum redire jubet.

[4] *Referebantur*, "were regularly carried back to Hiempsal;" i.e. whenever they had been used to unlock the treasury for the public service.

[5] *Ut doctus erat*, "as he was instructed:" the simplest but least usual sense of the participle, which generally means, *peritus, eruditus.*

[6] *Diversi*, "going different ways."

[7] *Mulieris ancillæ: mulier* is superfluous, as in many places. Ter. *Andr.* iv. 4. 16. mulier meretrix. *Phormio*, ii. 1. 62. homo servus. Cic. *Ad Div.* vii. 22. homo gladiator. We say, "a *maid* servant," "a waiting-*woman;*" but in Latin the sex is indicated by the form of the qualifying word, *ancilla, servus*, &c.

perfugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur: Adherbalem omnesque, qui sub imperio Micipsæ fuerant, metus invadit: in duas partes discedunt: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat; urbes, partim vi, alias voluntate[1], imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiæ imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris et fortunis suis; tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex prælio profugit in provinciam[2], ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha, patratis consiliis[3] postquam omnis Numidiæ potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adversus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam mittit, queis præcepit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos adquirant; postremo, quemcumque possint largiendo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex præcepto regis, hos-

[1] *Voluntate*, "of their own good-will." Comp. Liv. *Epit.* xlix. Andriscus totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incolentium aut armis occupavit.

[2] *In provinciam;* i. e. the Roman province of Africa; formerly the domain of Carthage. The simple term *provincia* was applied to it, κατ' ἐξοχήν, as also to the possessions of the republic in Gaul. Comp. *Jugur.* 25, 39, 62.

[3] *Patratis consiliis*, "having effected his purpose;" i. e. his schemes against the brothers.

pitibus[1], aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiendo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur[2]. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "Patres conscripti, Micipsa, pater meus moriens præcepit, uti regnum Numidiæ tantummodo procuratione[3] existimarem meum; ceterum jus et imperium[4] penes vos esse: simul eniterer domi militiæque quam maxumo usui esse populo Romano: vos mihi cognatorum, vos adfinium loco ducerem[5]: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni habere. Quæ cum præcepta parentis mei agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet[6] sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissæ

[1] *Hospitibus;* i. e. certain Roman citizens who undertook to entertain visitors from Numidia, and take charge of their affairs, like the πρόξενοι of Athens.

[2] *Senatus...datur*, "a meeting of the senate is appointed them." The audiences of foreign envoys were ordinarily given in the first two months of the year.

[3] *Procurationem*, "administration;" i. e. with deputed authority. Hence under the empire the officer by whom certain provinces were administered, was called *procurator Cæsaris*, "the emperor's deputy."

[4] *Jus et imperium*, "legal right and formal authority." Hor. *Epist.* i. 12. 27.

jus imperiumque Phraates
Cæsaris accepit genibus minor.

[5] *Loco ducerem.* Comp. Sall. *Fr.* 192. prædæ loco æstimantur.

[6] *Sustinet*, "bears," with a notion of difficulty and pain. Ovid. *Met.* ii. 296. Atlas, en! ipse laborat, Vixque suis humeris candentem sustinet axem. Comp. Plaut. *Pœn.* pr. 90. homini, si leno est homo, Quantum hominum terra sustinet sacerrimo.

me nepotem, et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum beneficia, posse auxilium petere; ac maxime deberi mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum[1], ea si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit[2], Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri, quam usui esse. Ceteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit; quo tempore[3] magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati me frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussæ haberem

[1] *Maxime...secundum*, "in the first ...in the second place." Comp. Cic. *Philipp.* viii. 16. hujus industriam maxime equidem vellem ut imitarentur ii quos oportebat; secundo autem loco ne alterius labori inviderent. Varro, *de Vit. Pop. Rom.* iii. quoted by Nonius, ii. 621. animadvertendum primum quidem de causis...secundum, qua fide ... eas coluerint. Gerlach punctuates: secundum ea, "next to this," for which construction, comp. Cic. *in Vatin.* 6. secundum ea quæro; and Cæs. *B. G.* i. 33. In that case *desideranda* must be referred to another *ea* understood, and not to the *ea* which is expressed, an awkward construction.

[2] *Neque mihi in manu fuit*, "it was not in my power to effect what sort of person Jugurtha should be." Comp. Ter. *Hec.* iv. 4. 44.

Uxor quid faciat, in manu non est mea:

And below, uti per otium tuti simus in manu vestra est.

[3] *Quo tempore,...* "at a time when such was the condition of the republic that only its good faith, and not its good fortune, could engage sympathy, or attract friends."

præter miserandam fortunam; quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto; tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater et avus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, Patres conscripti: vos in injuria mea despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere[1], uti, quem tu parem cum liberis[2] tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuæ extinctor sit? Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro[3], fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure[4] omnia sæva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ejecta, læti pacem agitabamus; quippe queis hostis nullus, nisi forte quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso, Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese ecferens[5], fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo, interfecto,

[1] ... *Evasere*, "have come to this result." Ter. *Andr.* i. 1. 100. heri semper lenitas verebar quorsum evaderet.

[2] *Parem cum liberis.* Cic. *Brut.* 59. erant ei quædam ex his paria cum Crasso. *Phil.* i. 14. libertate parem cum cæteris. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 2. eodem mecum patre genitum.

[3] *Ferro:* i.q. *certamine.* Suet. *Ner.* 12. exhibuit ad ferrum quadringentos senatores.

[4] *Jure*, "naturally," "as might be expected."

[5] *Sese ecferens*, "rising," "swelling;" i.e. growing proud and presumptuous: *ecferens*, an old form for *efferens*.

primum regnum ejus sceleris sui prædam fecit: post, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim aut bellum, exspectantem, in imperio vestro[1], sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem, et coopertum miseriis, effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno, essem[2]. Ego sic existimabam, Patres conscripti, ut prædicantem[3] audiveram patrem meum: qui vestram amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, præstitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus est nobis conjunctum fore: alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissimum infelix accedam? Generis præsidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, naturæ concessit: fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquus per scelus vitam eripuit: adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris, cum mœrore et luctu, morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta

1 *In imperio vestro*, "under your sway;" i.e. *vobis imperantibus*.

2 *Extorrem...effecit ut tutius essem*. *Extorris*, the proper subject of the second verb *essem*, becomes by attraction the object of the first verb *effecit*. Comp. Plaut. *Pœnul.* ii. 5. Sex immolavi agnos nec potui tamen Propitiam Venerem facere uti esset mihi. For *tutius essem*, see note on *Jugur.* 7.

3 *Prædicantem*, "declaring;" i.q. *sæpe et palam dicentem*. Comp. *Catil.* 48. ipse Crassum postea prædicantem audivi.

sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improviso accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii[1], jus et injurias omnes curæ esse decet. Nunc vero, exsul patria, domo, solus, et omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accidam[2], aut quos adpellam? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt[3]? an quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta[4] plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus: abunde magna præsidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio[5] fortuna mutaretur, una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti: omnia secunda et obedientia[6] sunt: quo facilius sociorum injurias[7] curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parum cognita, transversos agat: quos ego audio maxima

1 *Pro magnitudine imperii*, "as befits the greatness of your empire."

2 *Quo accidam;* scil. *ad genua*: "at whose feet shall I throw myself?" Comp. Ennius in Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 19. arce et urbe orba sum: quo accidam? quo applicem? Suet. *Jul.* 20. ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Senec. *Troad.* 690. ad genua accido supplex.

3 *Infesti sunt*. The passage seems to be imitated by Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 320.

Te propter Libycæ gentes Nomadumque tyranni
Odere; infensi Tyrii.

4 *Hostilia monumenta;* i.e. "memorials of the warfare waged by my ancestors against the neighbouring states on the Romans' behalf."

5 *Huic imperio*, "this empire of yours."

6 *Secunda et obedientia*, "attentive and obedient."

7 *Sociorum injurias*, "the injuries suffered by your allies."

ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa, statuatis : fingere me verba[1], fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam[2] illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam ; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortales, rerum humanarum cura[3] oriatur : næ[4], ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus[5] est, omnibus malis excruciatus, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum, graves pœnas reddet. Jam jam[6], frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo, et unde minime decuit[7], vita erepta est, tamen lætandum magis, quam dolendum, puto casum tuum ; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnes has, quæ me premunt, ærumnas, cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo, incer-

[1] *Fingere me verba*, "they say that I make a fictitious representation."

[2] *Quod utinam*, "I wish, for my part." *Quod*, in conjunction with *si*, *nisi*, *ubi*, *utinam*, &c., loses its pronominal force, and becomes merely emphatic, or marks a transition.

[3] *Rerum humanarum cura.* Comp. Lucan, iv. 808.

Si libertatis superis tam cura placeret,
Quam vindicta placet.

vii. 454. mortalia nulli Sunt curata Deo. Claudian, *in Rufin.* i. 1.

Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem
Curarent superi terras.

[4] *Næ* or *ne*, "surely!" Gr. *ναί*.

[5] *Sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus* : "exulting and glorying in his crimes." Comp. Hor. *Epod.* iv. 5.

Licet superbus ambules pecunia.

[6] *Jam jam* : "assuredly." Antiqua dicendi forma. Hand, *Turs.* iii. 156. Virg. *Æn.* iv. 369. jam jam nec maxima Juno nec Saturnius hæc oculis pater aspicit æquis.

[7] *Unde minime decuit* ; i.e. *a quo.* Comp. Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 38.

Surge ne longus tibi somnus unde
Non times detur.

So illuc for in illum : Tac. *Ann.* i. 3. Nero solus e privignis erat : illuc cuncta vergere.

tus quid agam ; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitæ necisque[1] potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori[2] fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu[3] jure contemtus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriæ concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriæ ; nolite pati regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus[4] et sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere[5]."

XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione magis, quam caussa, freti, paucis respondent : "Hiempsalem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum : Adherbalem, ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset : Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent[6], ac Numantiæ cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent[7]." Deinde utri-

[1] *Cujus vitæ necisque.* *Cujus* referred to *ipse*, not to the substantive next preceding, *regnum.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 36. vidisse civium mœstos vultus, quod tantum aditurus esset iter, cujus ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent.

[2] *Emori*, "to die at once :" expressing the immediate connexion between the death and its cause or motive. So Hor. *Od.* iii. 24. 24.

Et peccare nefas aut pretium emori :

"to die thereupon."

[3] *Neu* ; i. q. *neve* : "and that I might not."

[4] *Per scelus*, etc. ; i. e. "by the crimes of Jugurtha and the slaughter of my brother and myself, all belonging to the same family ;" "by family crime and slaughter."

[5] *Tabescere*, "to consume away ;" "to perish ingloriously."

[6] *Putarent* ; scil. the senators, understood in senatus. Drakenborch on Liv. iv. 58, brings together a great many similar instances of the plural verb after senatus.

[7] *Ante facta sua ponerent* : *ante*,

que curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratia depravata, Adherbalis dicta contemnere[1], Jugurthæ virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis, pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et æquum divitiis carius, subveniendum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam, censebant: sed ex omnibus maxime Æmilius Scaurus[2], homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta[3] licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero

signifying "preference," never separated from a verb in Cicero, but commonly in the later writers. See Hand, *Tursell.* i. 386.

[1] *Contemnere,* "to express their contempt for." So Cic. *pro Mur.* 7. contempsisti Murenæ genus, extulisti tuum.

[2] *Æmilius Scaurus.* There were several families belonging to the Æmilian gens, distinguished by the surnames Lepidus, Paullus, Scaurus, &c. Scaurus signifies a person with crooked or weak ancles. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 47. scaurum pravis fultum male talis. The greatest man of this family was the Scaurus here mentioned. He was consul B.C. 115; triumphed over the Ligures, and made the Æmilian way from Pisæ to Luna and thence to Dertona. Strab. v. He was consul B.C. 107, censor, and afterwards princeps senatus. He was a staunch champion of the senate; nevertheless he was accused by Varius, a tribune of the people, of exciting the Italians to revolt. B.C. 90. Scaurus proudly demanded of the people whether they would take the word of Varius, a Spaniard, or of Scaurus, the prince of the senate; and this appeal was answered with acclamations. Cicero extols the character of Scaurus, as a champion of the nobility. For the same reason probably Sallust seeks to depreciate him.

[3] *Polluta,* "shameless;" "detestable." *Jug.* 63. indignus honore et quasi pollutus.

pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM ET ADHERBALEM DIVIDERENT: cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius[1], homo clarus et tum in senatu potens; quia consul, C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrime victoriam[2] nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha, tametsi Romæ in inimicis[3] habuerat, tamen adcuratissime[4] recepit: dando et pollicitando perfecit, uti fama, fide[5], postremo omnibus suis rebus, commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia, fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauretaniam[6] adtingit

[1] *L. Opimius:* a champion of the optimates, and vehement opponent of the Agrarian laws of the Gracchi. He was consul B.C. 121, in which capacity the senate called upon him to see "ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet." This decree was called Senatus-consultum ultimum, and was interpreted by the nobles as investing the consul with plenary authority over the lives of the citizens. Accordingly Opimius caused C. Gracchus, and his colleague in the tribunate, Fulvius Flaccus, to be seized, as public enemies, and put to death. The plebs denied the right to put any citizen to death except by a vote of the people. Opimius was eventually condemned by a popular vote for taking bribes of Jugurtha, and driven into banishment. Cicero extols him as the saviour of the commonwealth.

[2] *Victoriam.* Opimius followed up the slaughter of Gracchus by the massacre of three thousand of his partizans in the city. Plut. *C. Gracch.*

[3] *In inimicis.* I adopt the reading of Kritz and several other editors, for *amicis,* given by the MSS.

[4] *Accuratissime,* "with elaborate attention." *Accuratus* is said of things, *diligens* of persons.

[5] *Fama, fide.* The ablat. governed by the *comparative force* of anteferrent, "he considered the advantages of the king more important *than* his own reputation." So Cic. *pro Balb.* 8. quum magna pars libertatem civitate anteferret; i. e. potiorem duceret. Cic. *Orat.* 13. Isocrates videtur testimonio Platonis aliorum judicia debere contemnere; i. e. minoris facere.

[6] *Mauretaniam.* The north-western parts of Africa, modern Fez and Marocco. At this period the river Mulucha, now Mulviah, constituted the boundary of Mauretania and Numidia.

agro[1], viris opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur: illam alteram[2], specie, quam usu, potiorem, quæ portuosior et ædificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. Res postulare videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere[3], et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quæ loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minus frequentata[4] sunt, de his haud facile compertum narraverim[5]: cetera quam paucissimis absolvam. In divisione orbis terræ plerique in partem tertiam Africam[6] posuere: pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam

[1] *Agro*, "in extent of territory."

[2] *Illam alteram*, "that other well-known part." Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 5. si eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, fortasse minus erunt mihi populares impetus pertimescendi; sin illam alteram, (that other which you have heard) nescio an, etc.

[3] *Exponere;* scil. *ut exponam.* The infin. used after verbs of willing, intending, &c. So *Jugur.* 19. alio properare tempus monet. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45. Macro impulerat Enniam amore juvenem illicere.

[4] *Minus frequentata*, "comparatively unvisited." So *ludos, sacra, frequentare*, "to resort to."

[5] *Haud facile compertum narraverim*, "I could not well relate any thing as certainly known."

[6] *Partem tertiam Africam.* Comp. Lucan, ix. 411.

Tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere famæ
Cuncta velis, sed si ventos cœlumque sequaris
Pars erit Europæ; neque enim plus litora Nili
Quam Scythicus Tanais primis a Gadibus absunt;
Unde Europa fugit Libyen et litora flexu
Oceano fecere locum. Sed major in unam
Orbis abit Asiam; nam cum communiter istæ
Effundant Zephyrum, Boreæ latus illa sinistrum
Contingens dextrumque Noti, discedit in ortus
Eurum sola tenens.

This division of the world into two parts, the eastern and the western, was common to the most ancient geographers. Agathemerus, *de Geogr.* ii. 2. Varro, *de L. L.* iv. 5. See also Maltebrun, *Geogr.* i. 27. The accusative *partem* is given by only a few MSS., but the commoner reading *parte*, is so much the easier that it is less likely to have been changed by transcribers. The accus. is perhaps more definite

esse: sed Africam in Europa. Ea[1] fines habet, ab occidente, fretum nostri maris et oceani[2]; ab ortu solis, declivem latitudinem[3], quem locum Catabathmon incolæ adpellant. Mare sævum, importuosum: ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus[4]: cœlo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri[5] corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut bestiis, interiere: nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint; quamquam ab ea fama, quæ plerosque obtinet[6], diversum est; tamen, uti ex libris Punicis[7], qui regis Hiempsa-

than the ablat. "Most geographers make Africa *a third portion* of the globe." *Ponere in parte tertia* might mean, "assign a place in the third portion."

[1] *Ea;* sc. *Africa.*

[2] *Fretum nostri maris et oceani*, "the straits between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic."

[3] *Declivem latitudinem*, "the broad expanse of the eastern slope of the globe." So the southern hemisphere is called *mundi devexa* by Lucan, x. 39. While on the west, the extreme point of Africa is fixed at the straits of Gades, on the east it has no precise limit. The Catabathmus or declivity of the globe is the region eastward of Cyrene: so denominated by the Greeks of that place. Mela, i. 1. deinde a Catabathmo continuus est in Ægyptum descensus. i. 8. Catabathmus vallis devexa in Ægyptum finit Africam. Egypt was considered to belong to Asia.

[4] *Arbore infecundus.* The reading cited by Arusianus Messus in *Corp. Gramm. Lat.* i. 230. in voc. *ferax illo.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 57. flumen gignendo sale fecundum. Virg. *Geo.* ii. 222. Illa ferax oleo. But MSS. and Edd. read *arbori.*

[5] *Salubri. Salubre*, "robust;" *sanum*, "sound." Dœderlein, *Synon.* i. 32. Tac. *Hist.* v. 6. corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum.

[6] *Quæ plerosque obtinet.* The usual construction would be *apud plerosque*, or *plerumque.* The passage is probably corrupt.

[7] *Ex libris Punicis.* It will be remembered that Sallust administered the province of Numidia under Cæsar, and may have obtained his informa-

lis dicebantur, interpretatum[1] nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gætuli et Libyes, asperi, inculti; queis cibus erat caro ferina, atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, neque imperio cujusquam, regebantur: vagi, palantes[2], qua nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispania Hercules[3], sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi quisque, imperium petentibus[4], brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, et Armeni, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persæ intra oceanum magis[5]: iique alveos navium[6]

tion upon these subjects on the spot.

[1] *Interpretatum;* passive. So *enisum. Jugur.* 25.

[2] *Vagi, palantes. Errare*, to stray from the right way ignorantly: *vagari*, to wander about, to roam, purposely. *Palari*, to roam, apart from one's companions. Erramus incerti, vagamur soluti, palamur dispersi. Dœderl. *Synon.* i. 89.

[3] *Hercules.* The Phœnician Hercules (or Melcarth) is the hero of Syrian and Punic legends. His conquests represent the spread of civilization by the commercial establishments of the Phœnician race.

[4] *Multis sibi quisque...petentibus.* Comp. Justin, xxix. 1. regibus...in suorum quisque majorum vestigia nitentibus.

[5] *Intra oceanum magis,* "nearer to the ocean." So Cic. *in Verr.* iii. 89. locus intra oceanum jam nullus est, "there is no spot within the limits of the ocean." The Persians are represented as occupying the country westward of the straits of Gades. That the passage cannot mean, as some understand it, "farther from the ocean," "more inland," appears from the use of *alveos navium pro tuguriis.*

[6] *Alveos navium.* Comp. Lucan, v. 516.

Haud procul inde domus, non ullo robore fulta,
Sed sterili junco, cannaque intexta palustri,
Et latus inversa nudum munita phaselo.

inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia[1] in agris, neque ab Hispanis emendi aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum[2] et ignara[3] lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gætulos secum miscuere: et, quia sæpe, tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia[4] loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas[5] adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ mapalia[6] illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ, sunt. Medii autem et Armenii accessere Libyes[7]: (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant[8], Gætuli sub sole magis[9], haud procul ab ardoribus:) hique[10] mature oppida habuere; nam, freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit: ac

[1] *Materia,* "timber."

[2] *Mare magnum,* "the extent of sea."

[3] *Ignara:* passivè for *incognita.* So *Jugur.* 52. regio hostibus ignara.

[4] *Alia deinde alia.* So *Jugur.* 36. alias, deinde alias moræ causas facere.

[5] *Nomadas:* or *Numidas.* These are the words by which the Sicilian Greeks and the Romans respectively represented the native appellation, *Nemoudim*, Phœn. "wanderers."

[6] *Măpalia:* another form *māgalia.* See Servius, on *Æn.* iv. 259. Of their form, Festus *in voc.*, says from Cato, *Orig.* iv. mapalia, quasi cohortes, *rotundæ* sunt. (Cohortes or cortes, χόρτοι, inclosures for cattle, &c.) He is speaking apparently not of single huts, but of kraals, or assemblages of huts.

[7] *Accessere Libyes,* "approached the Libyans." As the Persæ mingled with the Gætuli in the west, so the Medes and Armenians coalesced with the Libyans in the east, on the borders of the Mediterranean, or *mare Africum.* Comp. *Jugur.* 20. pleraque loca accedit.

[8] *Agitabant,* scil. *vitam.* Comp. *Cat.* 2. vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur.

[9] *Sub sole magis,* etc., "nearer to the sun," i. e. to the torrid zone.

[10] *Hi:* scil. *Libyes; hique:* sc. *Medi, Armenii et Libyes; eorum:* sc. *Medorum et Armeniorum:* the proper relation of the pronouns is not very carefully observed.

postea nomine Numidæ, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quæ proxime Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique, alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia Libyes, quam Gætuli, minus bellicosi: denique Africæ pars inferior[1] pleraque ab Numidis possessa est: victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere[2].

XIX. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere: hæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus suis[3] præsidio, aliæ decori fuere: nam[4] de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon[5], qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari[6], prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereôn, ac deinceps

[1] *Pars inferior*, "nearer the sea," i.e. the Mediterranean.

[2] *In gentem...concessere.* A phrase used of conquered people who unite with their conquerors.

[3] *Originibus suis: origines*, scil. *metropoles.* Comp. Liv. xxxviii. 39. Iliensibus Rhætum et Gergithum addiderunt, originum memoria.

[4] *Nam:* with reference to a sentence understood, e.g. hæc de illis urbibus sufficiant; sed Carthaginem consulto non nominavi; nam de ea, etc. Kritz.

[5] *Ad Catabathmon...prima*, "next to Catabathmus." Comp. Cic. *de Fin.* iii. 16. quorum ordo proxime accedit ut secundus sit ad regium principatum. Mela, i. 8, with an eye to this passage of Sallust, inde ad Catabathmon Cyrenaica provincia est. Comp. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 9. dulcissimum ad hominis camelinum lac.

[6] *Secundo mari*, "following the line of the sea-coast." Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 58. secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere, "following the bank of the river."

duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis: dein Philænôn[1] aræ, quem locum, Ægyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses: post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidæ tenent: proxime Hispaniam Mauri sunt: super Numidiam[2] Gætulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos Æthiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino[3] pleraque ex Punicis oppida[4], et fines Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars, et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham, sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen, cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace, antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. Postquam, regno diviso, legati Africa decessere[5], et Jugurtha contra timorem animi præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accen-

[1] *Theræon...Philænon.* Greek genitives, Θεραίων, Φιλαίνων.

[2] *Super Numidiam*, "above," "more inland."

[3] *Bello Jugurthino*, "at the era of the Jugurthine war."

[4] *Pleraque ex Punicis oppida*, i.e. *ex Pun. oppidis*, "many Carthaginian towns." The Carthaginians were called Pœni (*Punicus*, of or belonging to *Pœnus*), from their original country Phœnicia. Gr. φοῖνιξ, the palm-tree. Hence the Latin *puniceus*, "red."

[5] *Decessere.* The MSS. fluctuate between this and *discessere.* The former is the proper word for an officer leaving his post, and returning home. See Drakenborch on Liv. xxviii. 28. So *Jugur.* 28. decrevere uti legati... Italia decederent.

sus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso, fines ejus cum magna manu invadit, multos mortales cum pecore atque alia præda capit, ædificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existimans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existimabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere; quia, tentatum antea, secus cesserat[1]. Neque tamen eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur: quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat[2]. Itaque non, ut antea, cum prædatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, et aperte totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbes, agros vastare, prædas agere; suis animum terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. Adherbal, ubi intelligit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthæ obvius

[1] *Secus cesserat*, scil. *ac speraverat*.

[2] *Animo....invaserat*. Comp. Cic. *in Verr*. i. 51. qui jam spe et opinione prædam illam devorasset. *Ad Att*. i. 16. ille autem regis hæreditatem spe devoraverat.

procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope Cirtam[1] oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus: et quia die[2] extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit[3], obscuro etiam tum lumine[4], milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentes, fugant funduntque[5]; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni multitudo togatorum[6] fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges cœptum atque patratum[7] bellum foret[8]. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis[9] turri-

[1] *Cirtam*. Cirta, Gr. Κίρτα, apparently i. q. the Phœnician *Kartha*, "a city;" called afterwards by the Romans Sittianorum colonia, from the followers of P. Sittius, a Roman adventurer who assisted Cæsar in his African campaign; known in modern times by the name of Constantineh. It lies about 40 miles inland, on the river Ampsagas, and was one of the principal cities of Numidia.

[2] *Die*. An old form of the gen. Virg. *Geo*. i. Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas. This form is preserved by the MSS. in several places in Sallust, e. g. *Jugur*. 52, 97, though here many read *diei*.

[3] *Plerumque noctis processerat*. Comp. *Jugur*. 51. multum diei processerat.

[4] *Obscuro...lumine*, "the sun not yet risen." *Lumen* is properly the body from whence light issues, *lux* the light diffused. Dœderl. *Synon*. ii. 66. But Virg. *Æn*. vi. 356. vix lumine quarto Prospexi Italiam, poetically, as we should say, "with the fourth sun," i. e. on the fourth day.

[5] *Fugant funduntque*, "put to flight and rout." The order of the words is contrary to sense and usage. But we find the same Vell. ii. 46.

[6] *Togatorum*, i. e. Roman citizens. These are called c. 26, *Italici*, and afterwards *negotiatores*, i. e. Roman settlers who carried on commerce in the country.

[7] *Patratum*, "accomplished:" a more formal and emphatic word than *perfectum*.

[8] *Foret*, "were already:" the imperf. for the plusq. perf. implying the immediateness of the act. Comp. nearly the same words in Tacitus, *Ann*. xii. 16.

[9] *Vineis*. These were wooden frames, covered with hides, wattles, &c., to protect the besiegers, while they worked their battering rams, or constructed their towers. *Vinea* is properly an adjective, agreeing with *porticus*, (as appears from Cæs. *Bell*.

busque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur; maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere[1], quos, ante prælium factum, Romam ab Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, "Velle et censere[2], eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello, disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum fore."

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prælio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens[3] erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: "Sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius, auctoritate senati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optimo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia, P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artes[4] ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviam isse; populum Romanum neque

Civ. ii. 2. porticus integebantur), from its similarity to vines trained over trellis-work.

[1] *Tempus...antecapere*, "to make the best use of the time before their return."

[2] *Velle et censere. Velle* is said of a resolution of the people, *censere* of the senate.

[3] *Clemens:* explained by Priscian in this place by *non nimius*, "moderately strong," more properly, "the rumour was softened," i. e. fell short of the shocking truth. *Clemens* is "gently sloping," connected perhaps with *collis* and *clivus*. So Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 38. colles clementer assurgentes.

[4] *Ob easdem artes*, "for the same qualities which had gained him the favour of Scipio."

recte, neque pro bono[1] facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit[2]: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque, propter loci naturam, Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa mœnia circumdat, turres exstruit, easque præsidiis firmat: præterea dies noctesque, aut per vim aut dolis, tentare: defensoribus mœnium præmia modo, modo formidinem[3], ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intelligit omnes suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxime impigros delegit, eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando[4] casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare[5], dein Romam, pergerent.

XXIV. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt; litteræ Adherbalis in senatu recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit: "Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit:

[1] *Pro bono*, i. q. simpl. *bene*. Kritz.

[2] *Ab jure...prohibuerit*, "prevent his using the law of nations to defend or avenge himself."

[3] *Præmia...formidinem*, "holding out at one time promises, at another threats:" *formidinem*, "fear," for "the cause of fear;" i. e. *rem formidolosam*. Sallust uses similar expressions again, *Jugur*. 66, 89. *Formido* is stronger than *metus* or *timor*. Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 8. Stoici definiunt formidinem, metum permanentem.

[4] *Miserando*, "by complaining of." *Misereor* expresses the inward feeling, *miseror*, the outward act. So *vereor*, *veneror*.

[5] *Ad prox. mare:* i.e. recta ad mare.

quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortales in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem, socius et amicus populi Romani[1], armis obsessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsæ patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur: ferro, an fame, acrius urgear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea[2]: etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse: nisi tamen intelligo[3], illum supra, quam ego sum, petere[4], neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius[5] existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum; deinde patrio regno me expulit:—quæ sane fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis[6], clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et hæc quæ scribo, et quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea

[1] *Socius et amicus populi Romani.* The sovereignty of allied kings was acknowledged by the senate. Cæs. *Bell. Gall.* i. 43. Cæsar commemoravit quod rex appellatus esset a Senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa.

[2] *Fortuna mea,* etc., "my ill-fortune discourages me from writing more concerning Jugurtha, being assured that little reliance is placed on the complaints of the unfortunate."

[3] *Nisi tamen intelligo,* "(I will say no more) but that I am well aware." *Quod* is suppressed. Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 73. De re nihil possum judicare, nisi illud mihi certe persuadeo, te nihil temere fecisse.

[4] *Petere:* "he aims at a higher object than myself," viz. at the Roman authority.

[5] *Gravius,* "the more important."

[6] *Posuistis.* So Cic. *pro Flacc.* 19. custos frumento publico positus.

fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem[1], non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiæ fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissæ."

XXV. His litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab iisdem regis fautoribus summa ope enisum[2], ne decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu[3], nobiles, amplis honoribus; in queis M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tunc in senatu princeps[4]. Hi, quod in invidia[5] res erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo[6] navim ascendere: deinde brevi Uti-

[1] *Ut...ostentui essem,* "that I should serve as an exhibition of Jugurtha's wickedness."

[2] *Enisum:* passivè, as *Catil.* 7. adeptus. 48. machinatus. *Jugur.* 17. interpretatus.

[3] *Majores natu,* "persons of greater age," i. e. higher distinction; whereas, on the former occasion, *adolescentes* had been sent.

[4] *In senatu princeps,* i. e. princeps senatus. The man of highest standing among the *censorii,* those who had been censors, was appointed *princeps* of the senate, and his opinion was first asked on any question in debate. He continued *princeps* during his lifetime. After the year B.C. 210, the censors appointed the most worthy of the *censorii.* See in Liv. xxvii. 11, the story of the appointment of Q. Fabius Maximus.

[5] *In invidia esse.* Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 9; Liv. xxix. 37.

[6] *Triduo,* i. e. intra trium dierum spatium.

cam[1] adpulsi, litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, QUAM OCISSIME AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus, metu atque lubidine diversus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, ni paruisset legatis: porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxime sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis, sese casum victoriæ[2] inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quam legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur: ne amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quod oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumta[3], legati frustra[4] discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici[5], quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque,

[1] *Utica.* The capital of the Roman province of Africa; Carthage, near which it stood, being destroyed.

[2] *Casum victoriæ*, "an opportunity of victory." Comp. *Jugur.* 56. fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare.

[3] *Multa oratione consumpta*, "after much talking to no purpose." Such is generally the force of *consumere* in such phrases as, consumere diem, tempus, verba, &c.

[4] *Frustra;* i. e. eventu frustrati. Comp. *Jugur.* 85. ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. 112. sæpe cum imperatoribus Rom. pacem conventam frustra fuisse.

[5] *Italici.* The Roman citizens spoken of in c. 21.

et oppidum Jugurthæ tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur; quia penes eosdem, si adversaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat: deinde omnis puberes, Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius fuerat, interfecit[1].

XXVII. Quod postquam Romæ cognitum est, et res in senatu agitari cœpta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac sæpe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac, ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer, et infestus potentiæ nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, ID AGI UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHÆ SCELUS CONDONARETUR, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiæ, atque pecuniæ regis. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia[2] provinciæ futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ: consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica[3], L. Bestia Calpurnius[4]: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obve-

[1] *Necat...interfecit.* *Interficere* is simply "to put to death," *necare*, "to kill in a shocking manner," generally connected with *tormentis*, *cruciatibus*, *excruciatum*, &c. Dœderlein, *Synon.* iii. 86.

[2] *Lege Sempronia.* A law of C. Sempronius Gracchus (A.U. 630. B.C. 124), which provided that the consuls' future provinces should be assigned before the day of their election.

[3] *P. Scipio Nasica.* This was the son of the Scipio Nasica who slew Tiberius Gracchus (Appian, *B.C.* i. 16; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 19).

[4] *L. Bestia Calpurnius.* This unusual order of the names is found occasionally, as in Liv. xxvii. 6. Crassus Licinius. Nepos, *Vit. Att.* 18. Marcelli Claudii, Scipionis Cornelii. Vell.

nit[1]: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur[2]: stipendium, alia, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venum ire, in animo hæserat[3], filium, et cum eo duo familiares, ad senatum legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, præcepit, "omnes mortales pecunia adgrediantur." Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est, PLACERETNE LEGATOS JUGURTHÆ RECIPI MŒNIBUS: iique decrevere, "nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem Italia decederent." Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat[4] sibi homines nobiles, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat[5]: in queis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio,

ii. 26. Ofella Lucretius. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 75. Pollio Asinius.

[1] *Obvenit*, "presents itself;" i. e. the lot turns up.

[2] *Scribitur*, "is levied," or "enrolled:" the names of the enlisted soldiers being written on tablets.

[3] *In animo hæserat*, "was his firm and fixed opinion." Comp. Plin. *Ep.* x. 31. sed et illud hæreat nobis.

[4] *Legat*, i. e. *legatos tibi adsciscit*, "appoints as his *legati*, lieutenants," viz. officers with whom the imperator advised on the conduct of the war, or to whom he intrusted the command of subsidiary expeditions. They were chosen by the imperator himself, subject to the approbation of the senate.

[5] *Quæ deliquisset munita fore sperabat*, "he hoped any blunders of his own would be bolstered up."

satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam, transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est; multos mortales et urbes aliquot pugnando capit.

XXIX. Sed, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit, animus æger avaritia[1] facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui, tametsi a principio, plerisque[2] ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrime regem impugnaverat; tamen, magnitudine pecuniæ, a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existimans, sese aliquid interim Romæ, pretio aut gratia, effecturum: postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum acceperat, in maximam spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum iis[3] de omnibus pactionibus[4] præsens[5] agere. Ceterum interea, fidei caussa[6], mittitur a consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vagam[7]; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti,

[1] *Æger avaritia*, "corrupted with avarice."

[2] *Plerisque*, etc., "while many of his (Scaurus's) friends and partizans had already been corrupted by the bribes of Jugurtha." Of the corruption of Scaurus himself, Florus says (iii. 1. 5), Quum Jugurtha in Scauro ipsos Romani imperii mores expugnavisset.

[3] *Cum iis*, i.e. with Bestia and Scaurus.

[4] *De omnibus pactionibus*, "on all the subjects of treaty," "all the conditions of peace."

[5] *Præsens*, "at once," "off-hand."

[6] *Fidei causa*, "to keep faith with Jugurtha," according to agreement between them.

[7] *Vaga*, or *Vaca*; a city of Nu-

quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam deditionis mora[1] induciæ agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca, præsenti consilio[2], locutus de invidia facti atque in deditionem uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, quasi per saturam[3] exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio[4] imperatum, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere, quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos[5] proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actæ forent, fama divulgavit, Romæ per omnes locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari: apud

midia near Cirta, mod. Veyja. See Ruperti on Sil. Ital. iii. 259. Tum Vaga et antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo.

[1] *Deditionis mora*, "while the treaty for a surrender was making slow progress."

[2] *Præsenti consilio*, "in the presence of his counsellors." Cic. *Philipp.* iv. 6. Senatum orbis terræ consilium. Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 3. Galba consilio celeriter convocato. *Concilium*, which is read here in some editions, means simply, "an assemblage," i. q. *cœtus*.

[3] *Per saturam*, "opinions being asked in a confused irregular manner:" the *lanx satura* being a dish composed of various ingredients. Festus says, Satura est lex multis aliis legibus conferta: a comprehensive enactment, embracing many particulars. Per saturam legem ferre, is proverbial. Diomedes, Lib. iii. quotes a verse of Lucilius,

Per saturam ædilem factum qui legibus solvat.

[4] *Pro consilio*, "before the council." *Pro*, as in *pro rostris*, *pro concione*, &c. implying the position assumed by the speaker, stepping forward to address his audience.

[5] *Ad magistratus rogandos*, "to preside in the comitia for the election of magistrates." The proposer of a law was said *rogare legem*, i.e. to ask the people's decision about a law. Hence the same phrase came to be adopted in regard to elections. *Rogare magistratum* is to propose the election of a magistrate.

plebem gravis invidia; Patres solliciti erant; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat[1]. Ac maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiæ ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiæ nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent: multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollensque[2] fuit, decere existimavi, unam ex tam multis orationem perscribere[3]; ac potissimum, quæ in concione, post reditum Bestiæ, hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. "Multa me dehortantur a vobis[4], Quirites, ni studium reipublicæ[5] omnia superet; opes

[1] *Parum constabat;* scil. *iis*, "The senators were uncertain."

[2] *Pollens*, "effective." An epithet frequently applied by the later writers to language, as Lucan, vi. 685.

Tunc vox Lethæos cunctis pollentior herbis
Excantare Deos.

Claud. vi. *Cons. Honor.* 501. quanta tuis facundia pollet Ingeniis.

[3] *Perscribere.* It has been inferred from this word that the author has in this instance transcribed a genuine speech, instead of making one of his own invention. Some critics have fancied accordingly that the style is quite different from Sallust's own. I cannot perceive any material difference; the words are evidently Sallust's, and the most that can be reasonably said, is that the substance is derived from the genuine document.

[4] *A vobis;* i.e. *ne rerum vestrarum curam suscipiam.* This seems to be imitated from a speech of Cato the censor, *de Lusitanis*, a fragment of which is preserved in A. Gellius, xiii. 24. multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, ætas, vox, vires, senectus.

[5] *Studium reip.* Comp. *Catil.* 41. studium conjurationis; "zeal for."

factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxime, quod innocentiæ plus periculi, quam honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv.[1] quam ludibrio fueritis superbiæ paucorum; quam fœde, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores[2]; ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiis inimicis[3], exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam hæc talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiæ animus subigit: certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente tradita est, experiar[4]: verum id frustra, an ob rem[5] faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus: necesse est suomet ipsi more[6] præcipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt[7]: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii cædem,

[1] *His annis xv.*, "for these last fifteen years." The number is perhaps corrupt. The MSS. fluctuate between xv, xii, and x. It was twenty two years from the death of Tib. Gracchus, ten years from that of Caius, either of which epochs might be pointed to. Cortius conjectures xx, as a round number, which Kritz adopts.

[2] *Vestri defensores;* scil. the Gracchi.

[3] *Obnoxiis inimicis*, "when your foes have fallen into your hands;" i.e. their guilt is detected, and they are unable to palliate it. Comp. the use of *obnoxius* in *Catil.* 20, 48. Liv. xxiii. 12. Si reticeam aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, "if I keep silence I shall seem either to be proud or conscious of guilt."

[4] *Experiar*, "I will make trial of." Liv. xxxix. 26. licentiam vocis et linguæ experiri. Plin. *Paneg.* 67. libertatem quam dedit experiemur.

[5] *Ob rem;* i.q. *in rem*, or *ex re.*

[6] *Suomet...more;* i.q. *suis moribus*, "through their own vices." *Mos*, sing. for *mores* plur. Cic. *Acad.* i. 10. virtutes natura aut more perfectæ.

[7] *Quæstiones habitæ sunt*, "prosecutions were instituted." *Quæstiones;*

item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio[1], plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci[2] nequitur[3], jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, ærarium expilari[4]; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maximas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum[5] habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia, hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut pœnitet: sed incedunt[6] per ora[7] vestra magnifice, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi ea honori, non prædæ, habeant. Servi ære parati

questions of *caput*, i. e. life and civil condition.

[1] *Regni paratio*, "attempt at regal usurpation." This is an ironical concession on the speaker's part.

[2] *Ulcisci.* In a passive sense, as in Liv. v. 49. quæ defendi repetique et ulcisci fas est.

[3] *Nequitur.* This passive form occurs in a fragm. of Pacuvius: contendi nequitum: of Plautus, Retrahi nequitum: of Cato, *Orig.* 1. quod Termino fanum fuit, id nequitum exaugurari. Lucret. i. 1044, has *queatur;* and this occurs also in Plautus and Terence.

[4] *Expilari. Expilare*, i.q. *compilare*, "to plunder, pillage." The simple form *pilo*, from *pilus*, to drive a stake, to fix, or press.

[5] *Parum*, "not enough;" minus quam par est. Used adjectivally in the sense of parvum, little, or too little. So Cic. *de Off.* i. 25. quæ est inter nimium et parum.

[6] *Incedunt*, "march with a grave, dignified gait." Virg. *Æn.* i. 50.

quæ Divum incedo regina.

And again,

Et vera incessu patuit Dea.

Lucret. iii. 75.

Macerat invidia ante oculos illum esse potentem,
Illum aspectari claroque incedere, honore.

[7] *Per ora*, "before your eyes." Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1. 65.

nitidus qua quisque per ora
Cederet.

Justin, xvi. 5. Senatores per ora civium trahit.

imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati[1], æquo animo servitutem toleratis! At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi, idemque superbissimi; queis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quæstiones injustas, plerique cædem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita, quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est: metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere, in unum coëgit: sed hæc inter bonos amicitia est, inter malos factio. Quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra[2] penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris et majestatis constituendæ[3] gratia, bis, per secessionem[4], armati Aventinum occu-

[1] *Imperio nati.* Comp. Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 5. nationes natæ servituti. Vell. ii. 118. natum mendacio genus. For the sentiment, comp. Cic. *Philipp.* vi. in fin. Pop. Rom. servire fas non est quem Dii immortales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt.

[2] *Beneficia vestra,* "the advantages," i.e. "magistracies and honours, which you have to bestow."

[3] *Majestatis constituendæ.* Quintil. vii. 3. majestas est in imperio atque omni populi Rom. dignitate. Cic. *de Inv.* ii. 17. majestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.

[4] *Per secessionem.* The two secessions referred to are probably those mentioned in Livy, ii. 32, and iii. 50, A.U. 260 and 305. It seems that another historian, Piso, had said that the first secession was not to the Mons Sacer but to the Aventine, and this is the account which Sallust may have followed.

pavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quod majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicet aliquis, Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam? Non manu, neque vi, quod magis fecisse, quam illis accidisse, indignum; verum quæstionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthæ: qui, si deditícius est[1], profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existimabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentes maximæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora, pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam hæc tempora, magis placent, cum regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella, atque paces[2], postremo divina et humana omnia, penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego, tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perni-

There was a third secession to the Janiculan hill, A.U. 406. Liv. *Epit.* xi.

[1] *Si deditícius est,* "if he has the temper of a subject." *Dediticii,* conquered people who submitted without conditions. Comp. Liv. vii. 31. omnia in vestram ditionem dedimus, quicquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.

[2] *Paces.* Cato, *de Vit. Pop. Rom.* apud Nonium, ii. 621. animadvertendum primum quibus de causis et quemadmodum constiterint paces.

ciem casura[1] esset. Nam et illis, quam importunitatis habent[2], parum est, impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur: et vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intelligetis, aut serviendum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiæ, quæ spes? dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis, utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptæ pecuniæ: quæ, quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrimo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiæque respublica venalis fuit. Quæ nisi quæsita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus[3]? nam impune quæ libet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis cives vestros perperam, quam recte, fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo præstat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas; at malus impro-

[1] *In perniciem casura*, "would end in your ruin."

[2] *Quantum importunitatis habent;* i. e. quæ nimia eorum est impunitas, "so great is their insolence."

[3] *Obedientes vivamus:* plus est quam *obedientes simus*, et perpetuitatem simul denotat. Cortius. Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 136.

quocirca vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

bior. Ad hoc, si injuriæ non sint[1], haud sæpe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicendo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, eumque interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ[2] arcessebant[3], delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere qui, auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthæ traderent: alii perfugas vendere: pars ex pacatis prædas agebant: tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculsa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur: ei timido, et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, "quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam ejus experiri mallet." Privatim præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam, ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat[4].

[1] *Si injuriæ non sint.* The meaning is: it is of more importance to deter the evil-disposed than to encourage the good; for if you can prevent crimes against the state by the fear of punishment, you will seldom require the aid of your honest citizens for your defence.

[2] *Captæ;* i. q. *acceptæ*. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 67. sævitiæ captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum.

[3] *Arcessebant*, "demanded for trial." Tac. *Ann.* ii. 50. arcessere majestatis. Suet. *Claud.* 37. arcessiri statim ac mori jussus est, "to be tried and executed."

[4] *Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat*, "so high at that time was the estimation in which Cassius was held."

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium[1], cultu quam maxime miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit: ac, tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quæ supra diximus, C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnes munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione, (quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula[2] duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris sui aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi,) dignitati, quam iræ, magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit; Romæ Numidiæque[3] facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: "quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intelligat populos Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes corrupturum."

XXXIV. Dein, ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra dixi-

[1] *Contra decus regium*, "in a manner the reverse of royal." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 82. contra decus imperii.

[2] *In vincula*, "to prison."

[3] *Numidiæ*; gen. for abl. *Numidia*, "in Numidia." The use of the genitive for the name of *a country* is irregular; but is here occasioned by the proximity of the genitive of *a city*, Romæ. In English we should say, *at* Rome, but, *in* Numidia.

mus, regem tacere jubet: ac, tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat[1], vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discessit; Jugurthæ Bestiæque et ceteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. Erat ea tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos; qui, quia, in dissensione regum, Jugurthæ adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu[2] urgeat, regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerendi, moveri quam senescere[3] omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugur-

[1] *Quæ ira fieri amat*, "which anger delights to have used." Quintilian, ix. 3. 17, says: Græca vero translata vel Sallustii plurima, quale est vulgus amat fieri. This passage, apparently corrupt, has been supposed to refer to that before us, and has been variously altered to apply to it. In Thucyd. viii. 1, we find *ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν*; and perhaps we should read *facere* in Quintilian. The idiom *φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι* is imitated by late Latin writers, as Auson. *ad Gratian.* 1. ut apud Deum fieri amat. Dictys, i. 3. sicut in re tali fieri amat; but this usage is not found in better authors. Still less would the Greek idiom of the verb sing. with the neuter plural be admissible. In *Jugur.* 41, we read: scilicet ea quæ res secundæ amant.

[2] *Invidia cum metu*, "public odium together with his own personal fear."

[3] *Senescere:* used figuratively, as Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* i. 30. nisi quum ira belli desenuisset. Liv. xxx. 29. senescere Punicum bellum cernentes. v. 21. senescit pugna.

thæ in amicis satis præsidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediebat; Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivæ paret, ac maxime occulte[1]; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur: et, per homines talis negotii artifices, itinera egressusque[2] ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero qui[3] ad cædem parati, paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, et in primis Albino consule, indicium profitetur[4]. Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque[5], quam ex jure gentium, Bomilcar, comes ejus qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advertit, supra gratiam[6] atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione[7] ex amicis quinquaginta vades dede-

[1] *Maxime occulte*, "if possible, secretly." Comp. *Jugur.* 46. persuadet uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent.

[2] *Egressus*, "goings out," "movements." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 12. Messallina (Silii) egressibus adhærescere.

[3] *Ex eo numero qui...erant*, "by attraction;" for *ex eorum numero*. *Jugur.* 18, 38.

[4] *Indicium profitetur*, "offers to make a disclosure." So Tac. *Ann.* vi. 3. summum supplicium decernebatur ni professus indicium foret. Suet. *Dom.* 17. professus conspirationis indicium et ob hoc admissus.

[5] *Ex æquo bonoque*, etc., "equitably, though not legally."

[6] *Supra gratiam*, etc., "beyond his means and influence to appease."

[7] *In priore actione.* In the first *actio*, or pleading, the charges were rehearsed and witnesses examined. The defendant was then called upon to give bail for his appearance on a future day, when the accuser should proceed to comment upon the charges. *In priore* . . .: "on occasion of the first proceedings."

rat, regno magis, quam vadibus, consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus, ne reliquos populares metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur, sæpe eo tacitus respiciens, postremo dixisse, URBEM VENALEM[1] ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT!

XXXVI. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, aliaque quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias moræ caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora, consulem ludificari[2]. Ac fuere, qui

[1] *Urbem venalem.* These words should be construed as the exclamation of Jugurtha. They are repeated as such by Livy, *Epit.* lxiv. and Florus, iii. 1. 18. The account in Livy differed from that of Sallust. The former stated that Jugurtha was himself put to trial for the murder of Massiva, and escaped secretly. Jugurtha . . . propter cædem admissam in regulum quendam nomine Massivam, qui regnum ejus populo Rom. invisi affectabat, Romæ interfectum, quum periclitaretur, causam capitis dicere jussus, clam profugit, et cedens urbe fertur dixisse, O urbem, etc.

[2] *Ludificari;* the reading of Kritz, for *ludificare*, in all the MSS.; the passage being thus quoted by Arusianus in v. *ludificor;* and the same form being found in Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 21, evidently imitated from this: Tacfarinas . . . spargit bellum; ubi instaretur cedens ac rursum in terga remeans; et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, irritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur.

tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existimarent, neque ex tanta properantia[1] tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis, quam dolo, crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro prætore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVII. Ea tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum[2] nitebantur: quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro prætore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiendi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniæ capiendæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat: magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul[3], ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et sævitia temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat, (nam circum murum, situm in prærupti montis extremo[4], planities limosa hiemalibus

[1] *Ex tanta properantia;* i. e. ex prægressa tanta properantia, "after so much haste;" *ex* implying change out of one state into another. Hand, *Tursell.* ii. 646. Ex, ut Græcum ἐκ, de proxima consecutione rerum ita usurpatur ut conditio dicatur ex qua alia conditio prodierit. Tac. *Germ.* 22. statim e somno lavantur. Liv. xxi. 39. otium ex labore, copia ex inopia, etc.

[2] *Continuare magistratum,* "to continue their own magistracy;" "to keep themselves in office;" i. e. by *interceding,* i. e. interrupting by their veto, the meetings of the people for the election of magistrates.

[3] *Suthul.* This place is unknown. Priscian mentions it as an instance of barbarous names ending in *ul.* In ul quoque unum reperitur masculinum Latinum, *consul;* duo communia, *præsul, exsul;* et barbara *Suthul, Muthul.*

[4] *In prærupti montis extremo,* "at the foot of a precipitous hill." This usage is common in Tacitus: medio campo, medio montium et paludum. So Livy: extremo æstatis; extremum auctumni. The more correct idiom would be *in extremo monte.*

aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, alia, quæ incepto[1] usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdolus ejus augere amentiam: missitare supplicantes legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus[2], per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur; ita delicta[3] occultiora fore. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tentabat: centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent corrumpere; alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent. Quæ postquam ex sententia instruit[4], intempesta nocte, de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculsi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis

[1] *Incepto,* "for his enterprize."

[2] *Vitabundus,* "constantly avoiding." The participial in *bundus* implies the force, frequency, or abundance of an action. It is generally formed from intransitive verbs. Here the verb is transitive, and Livy uses the phrase vitabundus castra, xxv. 13. Madvig, *Latin Grammar,* 115.

[3] *Delicta,* referring to *pactio.* Jugurtha enticed Aulus into a remote place, where he might come to an understanding with the enemy undiscovered. But the passage seems to be corrupt, to judge from the fluctuation of the MSS., and some editors have tried to make better sense of it by transferring it to another place, e.g. after desererent.

[4] *Instruit.* The present after *postquam,* frequent in Sallust, to give rapidity to the narrative. Comp. *Catil.* 40, 57. *Jugur.* 66, 76, 79, 80, 84, 86.

magna hostium; cœlum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps[1]; postremo fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum[2], cum duabus turmis[3] Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus[4], transiere ad regem: et centurio primi pili[5] tertiæ legionis, per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introëundi dedit: eaque[6] Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostri fœda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castrorum hostes, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferro clausum tenet, tamen se, humanarum rerum memorem, si secum fœdus faceret, incolumes omnes sub jugum missurum: præterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quæ quam-

[1] *Periculum anceps*, "the danger was double, whether they remained or fled," i.e. from the attack of the enemy, and from the darkness of the night; as explained by the words which follow.

[2] *Cohors una Ligurum*, "a single cohort of Ligurian auxiliaries." There were ten cohorts to the Roman legion; but the number of auxiliary cohorts was indefinite.

[3] *Turma.* A squadron of thirty horsemen. Ten *turmæ* or thirty *decuriæ* formed the complement of cavalry to the legion.

[4] *Gregariis militibus*, "common soldiers," i.e. Roman legionaries.

[5] *Centurio primi pili.* The Roman legion before the time of Marius was arranged in three lines, called the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, or *pilani*. In each of these lines were ten ranks, *ordines*, and ten centurions. The centurion of the first rank of *hastati* was called *primus hastatus*, of the first of the *principes*, *primus princeps*, and of the first of the *pilani*, who ranked above all the rest, *centurio primi pili*, or *primus pilus*. See a remarkable passage in Livy, xlii. 34, about the rise of a common soldier through these stages of promotion.

[6] *Eaque;* scil. *parte.*

quam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabant[1], sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. Sed, ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii[2]; pars, insolita rerum bellicarum, timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxime qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant, quod armatus[3] dedecore potius, quam manu, salutem quæsiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum, timens, senatum de fœdere consulebat: et tamen interim exercitu[4] supplementum scribere: ab sociis et nomine Latino[5] auxilia arcessere; denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat[6], decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM POTUISSE FŒDUS FIERI. Consul, impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus

[1] *Mutabant;* scil. *mutabant se*, i.q. *permutabantur*, "they were set against the fear of death." This use of the active *muto* for the passive is not uncommon. Comp. Catull. xxii. 10. Liv. iii. 10. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 23. postquam mutabat æstus. But the reading rests upon a single MS.; the great variation of the codices being caused doubtless by the peculiarity of the idiom.

[2] *Dolere pro gloria imp.*, "grieved in behalf of their glorious dominion."

[3] *Armatus*, "though with his arms in his hands."

[4] *Exercitu:* dat. cas., "for the army." So c. 84. postulare legionibus supplementum.

[5] *Nomine Latino*, i.e. the cities which enjoyed the *jus Latii* or *Latinitas*, the Latin franchise, a certain portion of the rights of Roman citizenship. This franchise was first imparted to the cities of Latium; afterwards extended to many communities throughout the dominions of the republic. It consisted in the *jus connubii* and *commercii*. The *jus suffragii* was not conceded till the year U.C. 664. In return, the Latins were bound to serve as auxiliaries by the side of the Roman legions.

[6] *Ita uti par fuerat*, "so as there had been reason to expect;" there not only was reason then, but always had been, from the known principles of the republic.

in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Jugurtham, et mederi fraternæ invidiæ[1], animus ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos, præter fugam, soluto imperio[2], licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum[3] statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

XL. Interea Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, rogationem ad populum promulgat[4], "uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset[5]; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello, cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." Huic rogationi, partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos, impedimenta parabant[6]. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit,

[1] *Mederi fraternæ invidiæ*, "allay the odium against himself, on account of his brother's misconduct."

[2] *Soluto imperio*, "in the relaxation of all discipline."

[3] *Ex copia rerum*, "with a regard to existing circumstances."

[4] *Mamilius....promulgat.* Cicero refers to the *lex Mamilia*, *Brut.* 34. Invidiosa lege Mamilia C. Galbam sacerdotem et quatuor consulares L. Bestiam, C. Catonem, Sp. Albinum, civemque præstantissimum L. Opimium, Gracchi interfectorem, a populo absolutum, quum is contra populi studium stetisset, Gracchani judices sustulerant.

[5] *Neglegisset.* An ancient form for *neglexisset*, cited by the grammarians, Diomedes and Priscian, from the historian Æmilius Macer.

[6] *Impedimenta parabant;* scil. not by their votes in the comitia, for the Latins and Italians had no right of suffrage; but by creating disturbances at the place of voting.

quantaque vi[1] rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit[2]; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicæ: tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur, ceteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiæ fuisse supra docuimus, inter lætitiam plebis, et suorum fugam, trepida[3] etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quæsitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore, et lubidine plebis[4]: ut sæpe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senati factionum[5], ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romæ ortus est, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima[6] mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus[7] placide modesteque inter se rempublicam

[1] *Vi*, "with ardour;" used of moral purposes as well as physical acts. Comp. 92. quem locum Marius summa vi capere intendit.

[2] *Jusserit, decreverit, voluerit;* scil. emphasis gratia.

[3] *Trepida*, "in a state of excitement." Pers. ii. 54. lætari prætrepidum cor.

[4] *Ex rumore, et lubidine plebis*, "on mere rumour, and popular caprice."

[5] *Mos partium pop. et sen. factionum*, "the system of having a popular party on the one side and an aristocratic faction on the other." *Factio* is generally said of the few, the nobles, *pars*, of the people.

[6] *Quæ prima.* The relative is referred not to the words themselves, but to the general sense of the antecedent. Comp. *Jugur.* 102. Humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit. Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 57. earum rerum utrumque a corde proficisci. And on the other hand, Cic. *ad Div.* x. 21. omnia feci qua re resisterem.

[7] *Populus et senatus Rom.* The reverse order from that usually observed in combining these words, in order perhaps to mark that the two elements of the state are here regarded in distinction one from the other.

tractabant: neque gloriæ, neque dominationis certamen inter cives erat: metus hostilis[1] in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet[2] ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia, incessere. Ita, quod in adversis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque[3] fuit. Namque cœpere, nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem, in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt; respublica, quæ media fuerat[4], dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat[5]: plebis vis, soluta atque dispersa, in multitudine minus poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ triumphique erant: populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum[6], ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia, sine modo modestiaque, invadere, polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi[7], neque sancti, habere, quoad

[1] *Metus hostilis,* "fear of an enemy;" i.q. remoto metu Punico, as in *Jugur.* 105.

[2] *Scilicet,* "then forsooth," ironically.

[3] *Asperius acerbiusque;* scil. *quam ipsæ res adversæ.*

[4] *Quæ media fuerat.* This expression, which seems to be imitated in Liv. ii. 57, and Seneca, *Ep.* 104, is taken from Thucydides, iii. 82. τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ...διεφθείροντο.

[5] *Factione magis pollebat,* "was strong by combination;" "by acting together;" opposed to *in multitudine.*

[6] *Militum:* scil. of the soldiers who were absent from home, and unable to protect their families from oppression.

[7] *Nihil pensi.* See on *Catil.* 5.

semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam, ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt[1], qui veram gloriam injustæ potentiæ anteponerent: moveri civitas, et dissensio civilis, quasi permixtio terræ[2], oriri cœpit.

XLII. Nam, postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum majores[3] Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem[4], et paucorum scelera patefacere, cœpere: nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis[5] a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem[6] ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis[7], cum M. Fulvio Flacco, ferro necaverat. Et sane[8]

[1] *Ex nobilitate reperti sunt.* At last some of the nobles were found, such as the Gracchi, who preferred true glory to the tyranny of their class, and placed themselves at the head of a popular movement, which resulted in revolution.

[2] *Quasi permixtio terræ,* "like an earthquake," in which the strata of the soil are thrown into confusion, and change places. The boldness of the illustration is acknowledged by the word *quasi,* "as it were."

[3] *Majores.* Tib. and C. Gracchus were grandsons on the mother's side of P. Scipio Africanus major, the conqueror of Hannibal. See Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 1.

[4] *Vindicare ... in libertatem,* "to claim freedom for the people:" the legal phrase for the declaration before the *prætor* of a slave's manumission.

[5] *Spes societatis;* scil. the hope of being conjoined with the nobility in the enjoyment of magistracies, provincial governments, and other advantages.

[6] *Eadem;* neut. plur. "undertaking the same enterprize." Liv. xlv. 23. vix ea quibus fidit ingredientem.

[7] *Triumvirum col. deduc.,* "one of three commissioners for establishing colonies of Roman citizens on the public domains.

[8] *Sane,* "it must be allowed." The partiality of the writer for the Gracchi has already been shewn in the use of the word *necaverat,* "murdered."

Gracchis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono[1] vinci satius est, quam malo more[2] injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa, multos mortales ferro aut fuga exstinxit[3]; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiæ, addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius ulcisci[4], volunt. Sed, de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim, aut pro magnitudine, parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius deseret. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. Post Auli fœdus, exercitusque nostri fœdam fugam, Q. Metellus[5] et M. Silanus[6], consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant[7]: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquam adverso

[1] *Bono*, "to a good man."

[2] *Malo more*, "after a bad fashion," so as to become *mali exempli*, a bad precedent. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 35. sævum id malique moris etiam sævientibus visum est.

[3] *Ferro aut fuga exstinxit.* The figure zeugma, where one verb is coupled with two substantives though its sense applies properly only to one. Thus *extingui ferro*, "to be destroyed by the sword," is a legitimate expression, but not *exstingui fuga*. *Exstinguere* (Gr. στίζω) "to prick or scratch out."

[4] *Ulcisci*, "to punish," "to wreak vengeance upon." This is the primary meaning of the word, *to avenge* (an injury, a friend,) is secondary, and much less frequent. For the sense of the passage compare Thucyd. iii. 82. πάντι δὲ τρόπῳ, κ.τ.λ.

[5] *Q. Metellus.* Of the gens Cæcilia. He obtained the surname Numidicus, from his victories over Jugurtha. Ovid, *Fast.* i. 595.

Hunc Numidæ faciunt, illum Messana superbum.

[6] *M. Silanus.* Of the gens Junia. As consul he led an army against the Cimbri in Transalpine Gaul, and sustained a defeat A. U. 645.

[7] *Partiverant. Partiri provincias* is the usual phrase. So Liv. ix. 41. The active form is supported in this place by the consent of the MSS. and by Servius, on *Æn.* i. 197, who adds, nam et partio et partior dicimus.

populi partium[1], fama tamen æquabili[2] et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus[3], ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur, diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, præsidia undique arcessere: arma, tela, equos, et cetera instrumenta militiæ, parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim: denique omnia, quæ bello vario[4], et multarum rerum egenti, usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, et reges ultro auxilia mittere; postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter bonas artes, tum maxime, quod adversum divitias invictum animum[5] gerebat; et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei

[1] *Adverso......partium*, "an opponent of." Adversus is sometimes used substantivally, as adversarius, amicus, inimicus, etc. See Arusianus in voc. *adversus illius*. *Gramm. Lat. Vet.* i. 211. Ed. Lindemann.

[2] *Fama......æquabili*, "his reputation was consistent, and unimpeachable." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 31. Artabanus fidus Romanis æquabilis in suos. *Hist.* iv. 5. cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis.

[3] *Alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus:* subaud. *communia.* Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 1. cum Patrone epicureo mihi omnia sunt, nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. The ordinary duties of the consulship, such as the taking of auspices, &c., he considered common to himself and his colleague; but the war in Numidia was his own sole affair, as that in Gaul was the province of Silanus.

[4] *Bello vario*, "a war which would require a variety of action," such as sieges, battles, foraging, &c.; and therefore, "for which resources of many kinds would be necessary."

[5] *Invictum animum.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 21. invictus adversum gratiam animus. Justin, xii. 15. in mortem invictus animus.

traditur Sp. Albini proconsulis, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, prædator ex sociis[1], et ipse præda hostium, sine imperio et modestia[2] habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii aut spei bonæ, accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et æstivorum tempus[3] comitiorum mora[4] imminuerat, et exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam, majorum disciplina, milites laborare[5] coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris[6] habebat: nisi cum odos[7], aut pabuli egestas, locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur ea, neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur[8]: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixæ permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur,

[1] *Prædator ex sociis*, i. e. *ex agro sociorum*, as *Jugur.* 88. ex sociis nostris prædam agentis. Liv. xxiv. 47.

[2] *Sine imperio et modestia*, "without authority on the part of the officers, or obedience on that of the men."

[3] *Æstivorum tempus*: scil. *castrorum*, "the season of summer operations." Vell. ii. 105. anni ejus æstiva neque in mensem Decembrem perducta.

[4] *Comitiorum mora*. The elections had been deferred by the intrigues of certain tribunes. See above, c. 37.

[5] *Laborare*, "to submit to training by camp-labour," i. e. digging, carrying, watching, &c. The watchword given by the military emperor Severus on his death-bed was, Laboremus.

[6] *Stativis castris*, i. e. the fixed camps in which the soldiers were retained in the winter, opposed to *æstiva*, the temporary encampments which were made during active service.

[7] *Odos*, the old form of *odor*: scil. the noisome effluvia arising from a permanent camp.

[8] *Neque......vigiliæ deducebantur*, "nor were sentinels placed:" as *coloniam deducere*, to lead forth a colony, and place or plant it.

et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum prædas certantes agere[1]: eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: præterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior, tanta temperantia inter ambitionem[2] sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse[3], "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:" ceteris[4] arte modum statuisse: præterea transversis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis circumire[5]: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, sæpe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrede-

[1] *Certantes agere*, "to rival one another in carrying off."

[2] *Ambitionem.* Ambitio on the part of a general is relaxation of discipline for the sake of winning popularity with the soldiers. Comp. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 12. Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio milites regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinæ corruptus, ita præliorum avidus.

[3] *Sustulisse*: scil. *comperior*, from the last sentence.

[4] *Ceteris*: scil. *rebus*, "he corrected other matters in regard to which discipline was relaxed, not by direct coercion, but by art and management:" *arte* opposed to *edicto*. Kritz. Others explain *arte*, as an old form of the adverb *arcte*; "he forbade some indulgences altogether, others he confined within strict limits." This latter sense is to be preferred.

[5] *Circumire*, "to go the rounds;" "to visit the sentinels' posts at night."

retur, uti cum signis frequentes[1] incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret[2]. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevi confirmavit.

XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus[3], diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis[4] mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos adgreditur[5]; ac, paullatim tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo, persuadet, "uti Jugurtham, maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum, sibi traderent:"

[1] *Cum signis frequentes*, "in close array about their standards."

[2] *Cibum et arma portaret*. Comp. Cic. *Tusc*. ii. 16. militiæ qui labor, quantus agminis! ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum. Nam scutum, gladium, galeam in onere milites non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Sometimes the legionary carried a month's provision. Liv. xliv. 2. consul menstruum jusso milite secum ferre profectus. This provision was *frumentum*, wheat or barley in the grain.

[3] *Certior Romæ factus*, "having ascertained, during his residence in Rome, the integrity of Marcellus's character." Nonius in v. *Innocens*, iv. 245, gives *Roma*, i.e. "having received information *from* Rome;" but all the MSS. read *Romæ*.

[4] *Cum suppliciis*, "with earnest entreaties." Comp. *Jugur*. 66. Vagenses fatigati regis suppliciis. *Supplicia* may also mean "ensigns of supplication," ἱκετηρίαι, (comp. Soph. *Œd. Tyr*. 3,) as Festus explains the word; supplicia sunt quæ caduceatores portant: ea sumebantur ex verbena felicis arboris. So Virgil, *Æn*. xi. 100.

Jamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina,
Velati ramis oleæ, veniamque rogantes.

[5] *Aggreditur*, "accosts," implying properly, motion towards a person in order to address him.

ceterum palam, quæ ex voluntate[1] forent, regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto[2] exercitu, in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem[3], tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus præfecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare[4], postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum tentari[5]. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu, apud primos erat: in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat[6]: in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti velites[7], quacumque accederent equitatus hos-

[1] *Palam, quæ ex voluntate*, etc., "openly Metellus desired to be informed what would be agreeable to Jugurtha."

[2] *Intento atque infesto*, "prepared for fighting and in hostile array;" not in the loose order in which an army marches through a friendly territory, or in time of peace. So Lucan, i. 5. infestisque obvia signis signa: standards *arrayed* against each other for battle. Compare also Lucan, x. 436.

Cum procul a muris acies non sparsa maniplis
Nec vaga conspicitur, sed justos qualis in hostes
Recta fronte venit.

[3] *Contra belli faciem*, "with an appearance the reverse of warlike."

[4] *Commeatum portare*, "to transport provisions for the Romans."

[5] *Insidiis locum tentari*, "an opportunity for treachery was sought."

[6] *Curabat*, "took the direction," "commanded:" used absolutely, in a military sense. Comp. *Jugur*. 60. Marius in ea parte curabat. *Catil*. 59. Fæsulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet. Tacitus, *Ann*. i. 31, adds the accus. of the object: exercitum Cæcina curabat.

[7] *Velites*, "light-armed troops," used as auxiliaries to the legion, but not forming part of the three lines.

tium, propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiæ erat, uti, absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium[1] totius regni maxime celebratum[2]: ubi et incolere, et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia[3] et, si paterentur, opportunitate, loci[4], præsidium imposuit[5]; præterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quæ bello usui forent comportare: ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatum juvaturum[6] exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impensius modo[7] legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare; præter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello

[1] *Forum rerum venalium,* "a commercial emporium."

[2] *Celebratum,* "frequented:" *frequens* relates to persons or things; *celeber* is confined to persons. Dœderl. *Synon.* i. 25. Hence *celeber* comes to mean one who is much spoken of by men. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 88. Arminius... canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes... Romanis haud perinde celebris.

[3] *Tentandi gratia.* Metellus places a garrison in Vaga on two accounts; first, in order to try and seduce the inhabitants from their fidelity to Jugurtha; and secondly, because of the eligibility of the position for a Roman station, if they should consent to be seduced.

[4] *Opportunitate loci,* i. e. *propter opp. loci.*

[5] *Huc...præsidium imposuit. Imponere* with an adverb of place. Comp. *Jugur.* 54. ubicunque res postulabat præsidium impositum. 66. quo Metellus præsidium imposuerat. 75. eoque imponit vasa. The reading *huic,* which is supported by a few MSS. only, is not necessary.

[6] *Juvaturum.* This form occurs also in Plin. *Ep.* iv. 15, as *sonaturum* in Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 44.

[7] *Impensius modo,* i. e. *supra modum impensè.* The ablat. after the compar., "beyond measure earnestly." The same phrase occurs *Jugur.* 75. Or *impensius,* scil. *quam ante.*

dedere[1]. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvertit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur, explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maximas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites[2] occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiæ, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx., tractu pari, vastus ab natura[3] et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis[4] oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi[5] arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta, penuria aquæ, præter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita[6] arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

[1] *Dedere,* "offered to surrender."

[2] *Tramites,* "by-paths;" opposed to military ways or high roads.

[3] *Vastus ab natura,* "naturally desolate;" as ab equitatu firmus, ab doctoribus instructus; "on the part of." Vastus ab humano cultu, "as regards (the want of) cultivation:" qu. incultu. Comp. *Catil.* 55.

[4] *Quasi collis,* "a sort of hill."

[5] *Humi:* gen. cas. as, Tac. *Ann.* i. 61. humido paludum. iv. 41. secreto loci.

[6] *Consita,* "planted;" but as a

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere[1] porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuata suorum acie[2], consedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit, eumque edocet, quæ ageret: ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos[3] collocat: dein, singulas turmas atque manipulos[4] circumiens, monet atque obtestatur, "uti, memores pristinæ virtutis et victoriæ, sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum, mutatum: quæ ab imperatore decuerint[5], omnia suis provisa: locum superiorem[6], uti prudentes[7] cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus, manum consererent: proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnes labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maximarum ærumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque, ob militare facinus, pecunia aut

stronger word than the simple *satus*, it here means, "overgrown." Virg. *Æn.* iii. 127. crebris legimus freta consita terris.

[1] *Transverso itinere*, "in a direction at right angles," i. e. to the mountain.

[2] *Extenuata acie*, "drawn out in a thin line." Comp. Suet. *de Bell. Afric.* 14. adversariorum equitatus sese extendus, et...Cæsaris equitatum extenuare.

[3] *Suos*, "his own division."

[4] *Manipulos*, "bands of infantry:" the Roman term applied loosely to the array of a foreign people.

[5] *Decuerint*: scil. *provideri*; to be supplied from *provisa*, which follows. *Decuerit* would be the proper construction.

[6] *Locum superiorem*, etc. Observe the four particulars in which Jugurtha had provided, like a good general, for victory; 1. higher ground; 2. knowledge of the country, and of the kind of warfare required in it; 3. no inferiority in numbers; 4. nor in skill and discipline.

[7] *Prudentes*: scil. *belli*; in every thing relating to the conduct of the war.

honore extulerat[1], commonefacere beneficii sui, et cum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicatur[2]: primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque[3] consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset[4], cum natura loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati), dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen constituit: ibi, commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere[5], quod proximum hostes erat, triplicibus subsidiis[6] aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac, pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principiis[7], in planum deducit.

[1] *Pecunia aut honore extulerat*, "had advanced in wealth or dignity:" the proper meaning of *extollere*, to raise, promote, is extended by a zeugma to *pecunia*, which should properly be connected with such a word as *ornare*, or *locupletare*.

[2] *Conspicatur*: scil. *hostes*; MSS. *conspicitur*. But Donatus quotes Sallust's use of *conspicor* for *conspicio*; and the passage evidently requires the active sense here.

[3] *Equi Numidæque*, "the Numidians, horse and foot." So equi virique for equites peditesque. Cæs. *B. G.* viii. 36. Germanos equitesque.

[4] *Incerti quidnam esset*: passivè, "they were not clearly distinguished, as to what it was they were."

[5] *Commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere*, "facing right about." Jugurtha occupied the hill on the right of the Roman army as it descended the mountain.

[6] *Triplicibus subsidiis*, "in three lines, supporting each other:" the usual Roman battle-array.

[7] *Transversis principiis*, "with the first rank at right angles to the line of march." *Principes* are properly the second line, but *principia* the first rank of any line. The army having wheeled right about, continues to descend, in three columns, instead of, as before, in three lines.

L. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi, animadvertit, veritus, ex anni tempore et inopia aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus[1] et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existimans, hostes crebro impetu et transversis præliis[2] iter suum remoraturos, et, quoniam armis diffiderent[3], lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse, pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium post principia[4] habere: ipse cum sinistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos[5] prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum millium[6] peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui, ac post munimento foret: dein repente, signo dato, hostes invadit. Numidæ, alii postremos cædere; pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare: infensi adesse[7] atque instare: omni-

[1] *Cum expeditis cohortibus*, i.e. *sine impedimentis*, "leaving their baggage behind to expedite their movement."

[2] *Crebro impetu et transversis præliis*, "by repeated attacks and skirmishes on his flank."

[3] *Quoniam armis diffiderent*, "since they, the Numidians, dared not engage in a pitched battle."

[4] *Post principia*, "behind the first rank, in the first line;" which in the movement which Metellus was executing, became the right wing of the army, and was immediately opposed to the flank attacks of the Numidians. On the other hand, the left wing had become the first rank of the advancing columns who are here called *principes*.

[5] *Primos suos:* scil. his own left wing, which was most in advance towards the mountain.

[6] *Quasi duum millium*, i. e. *circiter duo millia*. Comp. Suet. *Calig.* 58. Hora quasi septima.

[7] *Adesse.* Sometimes in the sense of attacking, harassing, particularly when coupled with an adjective of

bus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio[1], ipsi modo[2] eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriendi aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio, quam maxume diversi. Ita numero priores[3], si ab persequendo hostes deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant[4]: sin opportunior fugæ collis, quam campi fuerant, ea vero[5] consueti Numidarum equi[6] facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebant.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda, atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi[7]: neque signa neque ordines observare: ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti: nihil consilio neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, cum etiam

similar signification: as Liv. xxv. 34. Masinissa assidue noctes diesque infestus aderat. Flor. iii. 5. aderat, instabat, sævitia quasi virtute utebatur.

[1] *Ludificati incerto prælio*, "amused by a desultory mode of warfare."

[2] *Ipsi modo*, "themselves only," i.q. *ipsi soli*.

[3] *Numero priores*, "being superior in numbers," scil. the Numidians.

[4] *Disjectos...circumveniebant*, "overwhelmed them in their confusion." So *Jugur.* 53. disjectos circumveniri vident. Comp. *Catil.* 39. circumventus ab inimicis præceps agor. 34. se falsis criminibus circumventum.

[5] *Ea vero:* scil. *via*, or *parte*, "in that direction."

[6] *Consueti...equi*, "accustomed to the hills and bushes:" not *consueti evadere*.

[7] *Alii insequi*, "others (Numidians) pursued."

tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique, omnibus labore et æstu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor adversum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientes vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus: circumire, hortari, renovare prælium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis [1] instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere [2].

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus: Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper [3] erat; adverso colle [4], sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt [5]. Amisso loco, Numidæ fusi fuga-

[1] *Hostibus dubiis*, "such of the enemy as were shaken and confused, though not yet broken."

[2] *Quos firmos...retinere*, "such as kept their ground firmly he occupied by distant volleys."

[3] *Die vesper*: comp. *Jugur.* 106. ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat.

[4] *Adverso colle*, i. e. the Romans charge up the hill on their right, on which the Numidians were posted: the ablat. of position, as trita via incedere, monte aspero decurrere.

[5] *Evadunt*, i. q. *enituntur*. Comp. Sil. Ital. iii. 528.
Quoque magis subiere jugo atque evadere nisi
Erexere gradum, crescit labor.

tique: pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit; ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid ubique [1] hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam, et animo vacuum [2], accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio [3] clamorem augeri; veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam, diffidens virtuti militum, arcte statuerat [4], quo hostium itineri obficeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari: post ubi æquabilem [5] manere, et, sicuti acies movebatur [6], magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius

[1] *Quid ubique*, "what any where:" scil. *quovis loco*. The sense *et ubi*, "what the enemy was doing, and where he was," is also admissible. Comp. *Jugur.* 54. Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret.

[2] *Animo vacuum*, "relaxing from his anxieties."

[3] *Ex Jugurthæ prælio*, "from the quarter where Jugurtha was engaged."

[4] *Arcte statuerat*, "had drawn up in close array."

[5] *Æquabilem*, sc. *pulverem* "constant," "not dispersed."

[6] *Sicuti acies movebatur*, "as the army moved." *Sicuti* has sometimes the force of *quasi, tanquam si*, as if: comp. *Catil.* 38. alii sicuti populi jura defenderent: but with the subjunct. mood.

ventum, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, colles, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et prælio fessi lassique[1] erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione[2] morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi, neque remissi, patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes, adventare[3], alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere: et pæne imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad cœlum ferre. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversæ res etiam bonos detractant[4].

LIV. Metellus, in isdem castris quatriduo moratus, saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in præliis

[1] *Fessi lassique*, "weary and exhausted."

[2] *Amplius opinione*, "longer than was expected." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 23. opinione celerius.

[3] *Strepitu...adventare.* So, *clamore invadere, silentio egredi*, etc.

[4] *Detractant.* This antique form appears in the MSS., and was used by Sallust: *detractare*, to pull down violently, to disparage, defame. Comp. Tac. *de Orat.* 26. detractare antiquos oratores. Ovid. *Rem. Am.* 365. Ingenium magni detrectat livor Homeri.

more militiæ donat, universos in concione[1] laudat, atque agit gratias[2]; hortatur, ad cetera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda[3] fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, uti sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat[4] exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque[5], agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli, cultorem. Id ea gratia[6] eveniebat, quod, præter regios equites, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga[7] regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt: neque id flagitium militiæ[8] ducitur; ita se mores habent. Igitur, Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum

[1] *In concione*, "in a public assembly," "on parade," from the verb *concio*, or *concieo*. Hence fig. the speech addressed to an assembly.

[2] *Laudat atque agit gratias:* scil. *iis*. Comp. *Catil.* 13. quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abuti (sc. iis) per turpitudinem properabat. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 4. Sed hæc eo spectant ut te horter et suadeam (sc. tibi).

[3] *Pro præda*, i. e. *ad prædam faciendam*, "for the sake of booty."

[4] *Cogebat*, "was levying."

[5] *Hebetem infirmumque*, "raw and feeble." *Hebes* fig. of soldiers untrained, or slow and stupid from want of proper military spirit. Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 99. hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles. So in Greek ἀμβλύτερος πρὸς τὴν μάχην. Plutarch, *Vit. Alcib.* Celsus, i. 1. Ignavia corpus hebetat, labor firmat.

[6] *Ea gratia*, "on that account," for *ejus rei gratia*.

[7] *Ex fuga*, "in his flight," "when flying." Comp. *Jugur.* 56. Jugurtha cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum. *Catil.* 34. Catilina ex itinere... literas mittit. Liv. xxx. 7. Hasdrubal ex fuga...urbem proximam petierat: where the action proceeds out of the flying, marching, &c. If it were said that any thing happened to a person in his flight, e. g. the enemy overtook him, it would be *in fuga, in itinere*.

[8] *Flagitium militiæ*, "a military crime."

ferocem esse; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri non posset; præterea iniquum[1] certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit, non prœliis, neque acie, sed alio more, bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiæ loca opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, temere munita, aut sine præsidio[2], capit incenditque; puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum prædam esse. Ea formidine[3] multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum, et alia, quæ usui forent, adfatim præbita; ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ negotia multo magis, quam prœlium male pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant: quippe, cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur; et, qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia[4], quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum plerumque[5] in iisdem locis opperiri jubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes repente

[1] *Iniquum*, "unequal." Virg. *Æn.* x. 889. pugna congressus iniqua.

[2] *Sine præsidio*, "undefended." Comp. *Jugur.* 66. milites palantes et sine imperio aggrediuntur.

[3] *Ea formidine:* scil. *ejus rei formidine.* Comp. Virg. *Æn.* viii. 704.

Actius hæc cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
Desuper; omnis eo terrore Ægyptus et Indi,
Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi.

[4] *Ex copia:* scil. *rerum quæ suppetebat*, "under the circumstances." Comp. *Jugur.* 39, 98. Ex copia rerum. The MSS. however for the most part read *ex inopia.*

[5] *Plerumque*, "the greater part of his army." *Plerusque* in sing. (unless adverbially) is rare, but is used by Sallust: as *Catil.* 17. juventus pleraque. 17. pleraque nobilitas. *Jugur.* 79. pleræque Africæ imperitabant.

adgreditur: eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidæ prius, quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos colles discedunt.

LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in adverso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham, magnificum[1] ex Auli secordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fuga, coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus OB EA FELICITER ACTA DIS IMMORTALIBUS SUPPLICIA[2] DECERNERE: civitas, trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere: de Metello fama præclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare: cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam[3] invidiam sequi. Ita, quo clarior erat, eo magis animi anxius: neque, post insidias Jugurthæ, effuso[4] exercitu prædari: ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant: exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam præda, ager vastabatur[5]. Duobus locis, haud longe

[1] *Magnificum*, i. q. *superbientem*, "exulting." Comp. *Jugur.* 31. incedunt per ora vestra magnifici.

[2] *Supplicia*, i. q. *supplicationes*, "a thanksgiving," called a *lectisternium*, when the images of the gods were laid on couches, and a banquet served to them. This ceremony was repeated for several days, according to the importance of the occasion; sometimes as many as fifty.

[3] *Post gloriam*, "after glory has been attained." So *post insidias Jugurthæ*, "after the stratagems he had experienced."

[4] *Effuso*, "scattered and straggling," oppcsed to *intento. Jugur.* 105, temere et effuse euntes. Curt. ix. 8. barbari effuse sequentes.

[5] *Præda, ager vastabatur*, i. e. *præ-*

inter se, castra faciebant: ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, diversi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per colles sequi: tempus aut locum pugnæ quærere: qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum, et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere: postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in colles regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis, minitari; neque prælium facere, neque otium pati[1]; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni[2], nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare; ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant,

datione. Comp. Liv. xxii. 9. præda ac populationibus...Marsos devastat.

[1] *Otium pati*, "to suffer the Romans to rest."

[2] *Arcem regni*, "the citadel of the realm," as regarded the part of the country in which it was situated. Comp. Liv. xliv. 31. Gentius eam sibi ceperat velut regni totius arcem. Cic. *pro Ligar.* 7. Africam omnium provinciarum arcem. Livy uses the phrase figuratively, Consulatum, arcem libertatis: Tacitus, Classem, arcem commeatuum.

The situation of Zama in the centre between the gulf of Carthage and the lesser Syrtis shows how narrow were the limits of the Roman province at this time. It was afterwards included in Zeugitana, the district of which Utica was the capital.

Zama, the second or eastern capital of the kings of Numidia, was styled by the Romans Regia, and is not to be confounded with the Zama where the great battle between Scipio and Hannibal was fought, which lay forty or fifty miles to the west. Mannert, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, x. 2, 356.

additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere[1] nequibat, firmissimum. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxime occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit, Marium ex itinere[2] frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam[3] missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam præclari facinoris casum dare[4]: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate, sine metu ætatem acturos." Ac, ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini, paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum, in campo situm, magis opere, quam natura, munitum

[1] *Fallere*, i. q. *fidem mutare*, "to change sides." If they had gone over to the Romans they would have been treated with rigour as deserters.

[2] *Ex itinere.* Comp. *Jugur.* 54. ex fuga; and see note there.

[3] *Sicca.* A town of Numidia on the banks of the river Bagrada, lying centrally between Utica, Zama, and Cirta. It was called by the Romans Sicca Veneria, from a temple of the Phœnician Venus. Val. Max. ii. 6. 15; Mannert, x. 2. 322.

[4] *Fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare: fortunam*, the subject; *casum*, the object: "fortune gave them the opportunity of performing a noble exploit." Comp. *Jugur.* 25. sese casum victoriæ inventurum. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 28. Si Chatti casum pugnæ præberent. xiii. 36. bene gerendæ rei casum offerri.

erat; nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit: legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus[1] pugnare; alii succedere, ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis adgredi: cupere prælium [in] manibus facere[2]. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere: sudes, pila, præterea pice et sulphure tædam mixtam ardenti mittere. Sed nec illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque jacula, tormentis aut manu emissa, vulnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magis, quam prælium, exspectantibus, portam irrumpit[3]. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Ro-

[1] *Glande aut lapidibus.* Comp. Liv. xxxviii. 21. sagittis, glande, jaculis configebantur. *Glande* the collective sing. as c. 17. arbore infecundus.

[2] *Prælium [in] manibus facere.* Most of the MSS. read *in manibus;* scil. facerent prælium in manibus, i.e. cominus: but the phrase wants authority.

[3] *Portam irrumpit*, for *in portam irr.* This poetical usage is affected by Sallust, comp. *Jugur.* 25; and imitated by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 48; ii. 62. *Hist.* i. 61; iii. 47; iv. 15. 50, etc.)

mani[1], grege facto, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editiorem: neque inde maxima vi depelli quiverunt: sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati[2]: sin Numidæ propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxima vi cædere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum acerrime rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit; deinde, converso equo, animadvertit, fugam ad se versum fieri; quæ res indicabat populares esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim[3] C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrymans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostes inultos abire, sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha, munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius, quam ad obpugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet:

[1] *Nominis Romani*, "of the fame of Rome." Comp. Liv. iv. 33. nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestræque memores.

[2] *Pauci in pluribus minus frustrati*, "being few in number, and therefore sparse in array, while the enemy being more numerous were more densely posted, they missed their aim less frequently of the two." *Frustrati*, passive.

[3] *Propere...statim*, "quickly...immediately." The cavalry are sent speedily, Marius himself immediately, without a moment's delay.

portas et proxima[1] loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui in proximo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent[2], ni pedites cum equitibus permixti[3] magnam cladem in congressu facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostes pæne victos dare[4].

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo[5] acerrime niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in sese, spem habere: pariterque oppidani agere; oppugnare, aut parare[6] omnibus locis: avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere: clamor permixtus

[1] *In proximo*, scil. *loco*, "nearest to the enemy."

[2] *Quivissent....facerent.* The imperf. does not stand for the plusq. perf., but indicates that the slaughter was still in progress when the Numidians had already been enabled to maintain their ground. Comp. Florus, iii. 3. 13. Cimbri si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen esset. "The Cimbri did not attack the city immediately, and accordingly the danger which was impending became averted." Cic. *Brut.* 10. neque enim jam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus...nisi jam tum esset honos eloquentiæ.

[3] *Pedites cum equitibus permixti.* Of this mode of fighting among the Numidians, we read in Auct. *de Bell. Afric.* 69. Numidæ...mirabili velocitate præditi, qui inter equites pugnabant. Cæsar himself introduced this practice into his own legions.

[4] *Victos dare*, i. q. *vincere:* an antique or poetical usage. It occurs frequently in Plautus. Comp. Liv. viii. 6. sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo. Virg. *Æn.* xii. 437. nunc te mea dextera bello Defensum dabit. So also *dicta dare* for *dicere*.

[5] *Eo*, i. e. *eo loci, ibi.*

[6] *Oppugnare aut parare*, scil. *oppidani*, "the townspeople opposed the Romans in person, or prepared means of defence."

hortatione, lætitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad cœlum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paululum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modo, modo pavidos, animadverteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent[1], monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus[2], et ea huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in ea parte curabat,) consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu regis prælium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis[3], repente magna vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis aggressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere: deinde, ubi unæ atque alteræ[4] scalæ comminutæ, qui superstiterant adflicti sunt; ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus, abeunt. Denique utrimque prælium nox diremit.

LXI. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum,

[1] *Sicuti audiri ... possent*, "howsoever they might make themselves heard."

[2] *Niti corporibus*, "gesticulated," i. e. "indicated by the motion of their bodies what they would have their comrades do."

[3] *Studio suorum adstrictis*, "engrossed with anxiety for their friends." Studio is ablat. Comp. Curt. vi. 8. religione deum adstrictus.

[4] *Unæ et alteræ.* Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 18. adductus sum tuis et unis et alteris litteris. Unus et alter signifies any small number. *Unus* in the plural is used with words that have no singular, or that are generally found in the plural: accordingly with *scalæ*, "steps."

neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco, pugnam facere, et jam æstatem exactam esse, ab Zama[1] discedit; et in his urbibus, quæ ad se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit. Ceterum exercitum[2] in provinciam[3], quæ proxima[4] est Numidiæ, hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti aut luxuriæ concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidia pro armis uti, parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam de Massivæ nece judicium[5] fugerat, quod ei, per maximam amicitiam[6], maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat: deinde, fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet," facile Numidæ persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

[1] *Ab Zama.* If it were meant that Metellus withdrew out of Zama, the preposition would be unnecessary: it implies that he retired from before the town. Hand. *Tursell.* i 10. foll.

[2] *Ceterum exercitum,* "the rest of his army." *Ceterum,* that which is added to complete a thing, the complement: *reliquum,* that which remains after subtracting from a thing, the remnant.

[3] *In provinciam.* The accus. is required by the idea of motion in *collocare.* So Cæs. *B. G.* viii. 46. in fines posuit.

[4] *Quæ proxima,* "the part of the province which lies nearest to Numidia." The conjectural reading *qua* is unnecessary. Comp. *Jugur.* 78. inter eos et frequentem Numidiam, "the populous part of Numidia."

[5] *De Massivæ nece judicium,* scil. *factum,* or i. q. *judicium necis:* as *Catil.* 35. conscientia de culpa, i.e. culpæ.

[6] *Per max. amicitiam,* "through his intimacy with Jugurtha."

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem[1] fortunas suas accedit: monet atque lacrymans obtestatur, uti aliquando[2] sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optime merenti, provideat: omnibus præliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis sæpe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveat, ne illo cunctante Numidæ sibi consulant[3]." His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati: qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent, ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere[4]. Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnes, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas vinctos adduci: eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio cœpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, cum ipse

[1] *Miserantem,* "lamenting."

[2] *Aliquando,* i. q. *tandem aliquando,* "at length." Comp. *Catil.* 52. expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rempublicam. *Jugur.* 14. utinam aliquando apud Deos rerum humanarum cura oriatur.

[3] *Sibi consulant,* "take care of themselves," i. e. abandon their sovereign. The phrase is generally used of persons whose affairs are desperate.

[4] *Facturum....tradere,* "promised to submit,...and was actually delivering up himself and his kingdom." *Imperata facere,* is the proper formula for an unconditional surrender.

ad imperandum[1] Tisidium[2] vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia[3] digna timere. Denique, multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, cum modo tædio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno[4] foret; multis magnisque præsidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Romæ senatus, de provinciis consultus, Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte C. Mario, per hostias diis supplicanti, "magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: "proinde quæ animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam sæpissime experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura." At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat; ad quem capiendum, præter vetustatem familiæ[5] alia om-

[1] *Ad imperandum:* not passive, as generally explained, "to be ordered, to receive orders;" but active, according to the proper signification of the gerund, "for Metellus to order, i. e. to dispose of." Comp. Lucret. i. 313. Annulus in digito subtertenuatur habendo, i. e. "by wearing it." iv. 1062. Ulcus enim vivescit et inveterascit alendo, "by cherishing it." Quintil. xi. 2. memoria excolendo augetur, "by cultivating it."

[2] *Tisidium:* a place not elsewhere mentioned.

[3] *Ex mala conscientia*, "of his own bad conscience." Comp. above, ex itinere, ex fuga.

[4] *Casus in servitium ex regno.* Comp. Senec. *Phœn.* 599. In servitutem cadere de regno grave est.

[5] *Præter vetustatem familiæ*, "except ancient descent." Marius was a new man, of obscure origin, in the municipium of Arpinum, in the country of the Volsci. He was a simple peasant, and entered the legions as a common soldier. He rose to the consulship, which he enjoyed seven times, and was leader of the popular party at Rome against the nobles. Comp. *Jugur.* 85. mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ. Vell. ii. 128. Marium ignotæ originis Romani hominis habuere principem. Val. Max. vi. 9. 14. Ex illo Mario tam humili Arpini, tam ignobili Romæ. Juvenal, viii. 246.

Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro.

Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 11. ille arator Arpinas et manipularis imperator. Plutarch. *vit. Marii*, 3. *γενόμενος δὲ γονέων παντάπασιν ἀδόξων, αὐτουργῶν τε καὶ πενήτων.*

nia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli[1] ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciendis, non Græca facundia, neque urbanis munditiis, sese exercuit: ita inter artes bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit[2], plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus[3], per omnes tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat dignus haberetur. Tamen is, ad id locorum[4] talis vir, (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est,) consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, et quasi pollutus[5], haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur, ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Me-

[1] *Belli*, "in war," i. e. abroad; as *domi*, "at home:" the *genitivus loci.*

[2] *A populo petit.* The military tribunes were originally appointed by the imperator: after the year B. C. 362, they were elected, at least in part, by the people. Liv. vii. 5.

[3] *Facile notus*, "easily made known."

[4] *Ad id locorum*, "up to that time," i. e. the time when the augurs advised him to indulge his utmost ambition. Comp. *postea* (*post ea*) *loci*, *interea* (*inter ea*) *loci*: *locus* signifying state, circumstances; and hence the time of such and such circumstances.

[5] *Pollutus*, "vile, unworthy."

tello petendi gratia[1] missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis, superabant[2], tamen inerat contemtor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum, commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, "ne tam prava[3] inciperet, neu super fortunam[4] animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupienda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere[5] a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur." Postquam hæc atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, "ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret." Ac postea sæpius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, "ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris[6] ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx.[7] Quæ res Marium, cum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum, vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus, grassari; neque facto

[1] *Petendi gratia:* scil. *consulatum*, "in order to sue for the consulship."

[2] *Superabant*, i.q. *abunde erant*, "although he had a large share of good qualities."

[3] *Tam prava*, "so monstrous:" *pravus* is crooked, deformed, as opposed to *rectus*, straight.

[4] *Super fortunam*, "beyond his condition." Comp. Prop. iii. 7. 2. Infra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam.

[5] *Caveret id petere.* The verb is joined with *ne*, *Jugur.* 62: with the conjunct. *Catil.* 58.

[6] *Contubernio patris:* in attendance upon his father, as one of the young men who performed their first campaign in the immediate service of the imperator, and were called his *contubernales*, as though they dwelt in the same tent, *taberna*, with him. Compare, for the construction, Suet. *Jul.* 11. Stipendia prima in Asia fecit M. Thermi prætoris contubernio.

[7] *Annos natus circiter viginti.* The legal age of standing for the consulship was 43 years: hence the sarcasm of Metellus implied that Marius should wait 23 years more. At this time B.C. 109, Marius (born B.C. 157) was 48 years of age.

ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum[1] foret; milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminose[2] simul et magnifice de bello loqui: "dimidia pars exercitus sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis[3] et regiæ superbiæ imperio nimis gauderet." Quæ omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiares corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem[4] scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam caussam mente paullum imminuta[5]. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum uti sellam juxta poneret[6], item postea custodiæ caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset; præsidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites

[1] *Ambitiosum*, "calculated to obtain popularity:" applied to things as well as to persons. Tac. *Hist.* i. 12. ambitiosis rumoribus. i. 83. ambitioso imperio.

[2] *Criminose....magnifice*, "insinuating charges against Metellus, and talking bigly of himself with regard to the war."

[3] *Quod homo inanis*, "because the man was vain."

[4] *Secundum hæredem.* This must be understood in the Roman sense: the person to whom the inheritance was to descend in the event of the death or refusal of the first legatee.

[5] *Imminuta*, "weakened." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 93. corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant.

[6] *Uti sellam juxta poneret*, "that he might have the honour of seating himself by the side of Metellus."

Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium[1] adgreditur, atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio pœnas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione[2] extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidiæ sine mora habiturum: id adeo[3] mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos[4], milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione[5] consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat[6]. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim Jugurtha, postquam, omissa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando præmia, adfectare[7]: communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quæ

[1] *Anxium*, "mortified."

[2] *Secunda oratione*, "by language which followed up his own views," i. e. "a flattering speech." Ovid. *Art. Am.* i. 584. Neu dubites illi verba secunda loqui.

[3] *Id adeo*, "that this indeed."

[4] *Equites Romanos*, i.e. Roman knights, principally those who farmed the revenues in the provinces under the name of *publicani*. Many of the traders in the provinces were also of this enterprising class.

[5] *Suffragatione*, "favour or recommendation;" differing from *suffragio*, "vote."

[6] *Extollebat*, "was elevating to honours."

[7] *Affectare*, "to conciliate," "to make one's own by favour and interest." Comp. Vell. ii. 39. Gallias sæpe et affectavimus et amisimus.

spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ipsos, qui in præsidiis erant, pecunia tentare: prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati: cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses[1], quo[2] Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati[3], principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum[4] erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt[5], quod is, festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, ludum et lasciviam[6] magis, quam formidinem, ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum præfectum oppidi, T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium, domos suas invitant: eos omnes, præter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant: postea milites, palantes, inermes, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium re-

[1] *Vagenses:* the nomin. absol.

[2] *Quo: adverb. loci:* i. q. *quibus.*

[3] *Neque antea voluntate alienati*, "and who before had not abandoned him of their own accord."

[4] *Discordiosum*, "full of contention:" the termination in *osus* is emphatic. Gellius, iv. 9. cites the learned Nigidius Figulus: hoc inquit, inclinamentum semper hujuscemodi verborum, ut vinosus, mulierosus, religiosus, nummosus, signat copiam quandam immodicam rei super qua dicitur.

[5] *Constituunt*, "make an appointment:" so constituere cum aliquo, or alicui. Terent. *Hec.* i. 2. 121. nam constitui cum quodam hospite me illium esse conventurum. Juvenal, iii. 12. Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.

[6] *Ludum et lasciviam*, "sports and recreations:" lascivia from laxus signifies, relaxation of mind or body.

rum incitati, queis acta consiliumque ignorantibus, tumultus ipse[1] et res novæ satis placebant.

LXVII. Romani milites, improviso metu incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, trepidare; ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, præsidium hostium; portæ ante clausæ fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis[2] ædificiorum saxa, et alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum[3], neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles, inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta asperitate, sævissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione aut casu, ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi[4], quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita fama integra potior, improbus intestabilisque[5] videtur.

LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagæ actis comperit, paullisper mœstus e conspectu abit[6]; deinde, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta[7] sunt, cum maxima cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiem-

[1] *Tumultus ipse*, i. e. *per se*, "disturbance for its own sake."

[2] *Pro tectis*, "from the very edge of the roof."

[3] *Anceps malum*, "the double danger," from the women and children, as well as from the men.

[4] *Nisi...videtur*, "except that (i.e. I only know that) he seems, etc."

[5] *Intestabilis*, "accursed," properly, one who for his crimes is forbidden by law to make or witness a will. Ulpian, *Dig.* xxviii. i. 18. Si quis ob carmen famosum damnetur, senatus consulto expressum est, ut intestabilis sit, ergo nec testamentum facere poterit, nec ad testamentum adhiberi testis.

[6] *Paullisper......abit*, "withdraws for a short time in vexation."

[7] *Ira et ægritudo permixta*, "when his vexation began to give place to resentment."

abat, et, quam plurimos potest, Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit: et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites, fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam abnuentes[1] omnia, docet, "oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum[2] abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, pœnas caperent;" præterea prædam benigne ostentat[3]. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo late[4], pedites quam arctissime ire et signa occultare, jubet.

LXIX. Vagenses ubi animum advertere, ad se versum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum[5] Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido cædere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turres capere: ira atque prædæ spes amplius, quam lassitudo, posse[6]. Ita Vagenses

[1] *Fessos...et jam abnuentes.* Comp. Lucan, viii. 3. Cornipedem exhaustum cursu stimulisque negantem.

[2] *Non amplius mille passuum:* subaud. *spatio*, or *intervallo.* In some writers, however, *mille* is used as a substantive, as Nepos, *Milt.* 5. ea civitas mille misit militum. Liv. xxiii. 44. mille passuum erant inter urbem castraque. xxi. 61. transgressus Iberum cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum.

[3] *Ostentat*, "shews from a distance, offers or promises."

[4] *In primo late*, "in the van in loose order," so as to cover much ground and be conspicuous. *Late*, a conjecture for *latere*, the common reading, has been confirmed by some MSS.

[5] *Rursum*, "on the contrary," prop. turning back in an opposite direction.

[6] *Amplius ... posse:* more usual, *plus posse.* But comp. *Jugur.* 111. quoniam armis amplius valuissent.

biduum modo ex perfidia[1] lætati: civitas magna et opulens pœnæ cuncta, aut prædæ, fuit[2]. Turpilius, quem, præfectum oppidi, unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque, capite pœnas solvit[3]: nam is civis ex Latio erat[4].

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens[5], novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere; diu noctuque fatigare animum: denique, omnia tentando[6], socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et

[1] *Ex perfidia*, "since the day of their treachery." For this sense of *ex*, see above, c. 36.

[2] *Pœnæ...aut prædæ fuit*, "was subjected to punishment, i. e. massacre, or plunder." *Pœnæ esse* could hardly be admissible by itself, but the meaning is understood from *prædæ esse*.

[3] *Capite pœnas solvit*, "is executed."

[4] *Nam is ex Latio civis erat*, "for he was a Latin citizen," i. e. only had the Latin franchise. By the lex Porcia a genuine Roman citizen might not be beaten with rods. This exemption had been extended to the Latins by a lex of M. Livius Drusus, A.U. 632, Plut. *C. Gracch.* 9, but seems to have been disregarded. The story of Turpilius is told somewhat differently by Plutarch, *Mar.* 8. According to this writer the charge against him was false, and got up by Marius, who instigated Metellus to put him to death to gratify his own malice against the imperator, whose retainer Turpilius had been.

[5] *Suspiciens*, i. q. *suspectans*, "suspecting." The word is not used elsewhere in this sense, except in the pass. part.; but this sense is more easily attributed to it here because *suspectus* immediately precedes.

[6] *Omnia tentando*. This is to be distinguished from *omnia tentans*, "in the course of trying every thing," and from *omnibus tentatis*, "after every thing had been tried." It implies that what follows, *socium sibi adjungit N.*, was a result of his trying various schemes.

omnes res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso, aut majoribus adstricto[1], superaverant[2]: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediebat; Bomilcar, simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omisso vetere consilio, novum quæreret, litteras ad eum per homines fideles mittit, in queis "mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: monere ne præmia Metelli in pestem converteret: Jugurthæ exitium adesse; ceterum suane, an Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia, an cruciatum, mallet."

LXXI. Sed, cum hæ litteræ adlatæ, forte Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat, ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti ægrum animum[3] solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimi, particeps. Qui postquam adlatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera et ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum

[1] *Majoribus adstricto*, "occupied by more important affairs."

[2] *Quæ superaverant*, i. q. *restiterant*, *superfuerant*, "remained over;" or "undone." Comp. A. Gell. i. 22, on the ancient use of this word. Virgil: captæ superavimus urbi.

[3] *Ægrum animum*, "a mind ill at ease, vexed and harassed."

introiit: dormiente illo, epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paullo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit: dicit "quæ ipse paravisset, perfidia clientis sui præventa:" lacrymans obtestatur "per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere[1] suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. Ad ea rex, aliter[2] atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppresserat[3]; ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthæ dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori, satis credere: cives, hostes, juxta metuere: circumspectare[4] omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, sæpe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere: interdum, somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine, quasi vecordia, exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris

[1] *Super tali scelere;* i. q. *de;* rare in prose writers of the golden age: never in Cæsar, twice only in Cicero, in his letters, once in Sallust, once in Nepos. Dietsch.

[2] *Aliter* etc.; i. e. *placide.*

[3] *Iram oppresserat,* "he had suppressed his anger at the slaughter," &c. Comp. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 14. dolorem opprimi dico patientia.

[4] *Circumspectare,* "he examined anxiously and timidly." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 69. *Hist.* iv. 8. animus novo principatu suspensus et vultus quoque et sermones omnium circumspectans. Cic. *in Pison.* 41. circumspectantem omnia, quicquid increpuisset pertimescentem vidi.

et indicio patefacto[1] ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum[2], cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione[3], simul et invitum, et offensum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romæ plebes, litteris, quæ de Metello ac Mario missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea decori, invidiæ esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis studia partium, quam bona, aut mala sua, moderata sunt[4]. Præterea, seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere[5], Marii virtutem in majus celebrare[6]. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque[7] in manibus[8] sitæ erant, relictis operibus,

[1] *Indicio patefacto,* an incorrect expression; for *insidiis per indices patefactis:* "to disclose," is properly, *indicium facere,* not *patefacere.*

[2] *Ad integrum bellum,* "a fresh war," i. e. a war exhausted or finished in no particular, in no quarter. Comp. Curt. ix. 4. integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiæ gentibus superesse cognoverant.

[3] *Fatigantem de profectione,* "importuning him for leave of absence."

[4] *Moderata sunt:* "as regarded either, party views influenced the people more than the good or evil qualities of the men themselves;" i. e. the merits of Marius or demerits of Metellus. *Sua* for *eorum;* as *Catil.* 21. cupiditatis suæ. 58. domi suæ. *Jugur.* 9. habes virum dignum te atque avo suo. *Bona* and *mala* used for virtues and vices, as *Jugur.* 85, 108. ob ingeni multa bona.

[5] *Capitis arcessere,* "accused of a capital crime." This is said hyperbolically of the vehement denunciations of the tribunes.

[6] *In majus celebrare.* Imitated perhaps from Thucyd. i. 21. ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες, and repeated by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 8. omnia in majus celebrata sunt. See also xv. 30. Liv. xxviii. 31. in majus accipere.

[7] *Res fidesque.* There is a familiar opposition in these words thus conjoined, as we say, "cash and credit." Comp. Plaut. *Trucul.* i. 1. 24. Extemplo et ipsus periit et res et fides. 38. Quum rem fidemque nosque nosmet perdimus.

[8] *In manibus,* "in their daily la-

frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, perculsa nobilitate, post multas tempestates[1] novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus, a tribuno plebis, Manilio Mancino, rogatus, QUEM VELLET CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE? frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paullo ante Metello Numidiam decreverat: ea res frustra fuit[2].

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum, profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque[3] agitabat: neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera præfectosque in dies mutare: modo adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: sæpe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide, minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat[4], res adversæ

bour." Comp. *Catil.* 37. in manuum mercede.

[1] *Post multas tempestates*, "after many recurring years:" *tempestates* implies the seasons of election duly recurring.

[2] *Ea res frustra fuit*, "the decree of the senate was quashed." The appointment of the provinces belonged of right to the people, but the senate generally recommended, and gradually usurped the prerogative in ordinary cases. Sometimes however the people insisted upon exercising their privilege, and the senate was forced to give way.

[3] *Varius incertusque*, "changeable and uncertain as to his plans."

[4] *Quocunque intenderat*, scil. *animum*, "whatever course he had resolved on." The plusq. perf. shews that *intendere* implies a moral act, a plan or intention, which must precede the physical movement. If Sallust had meant to say, "in whatever direction he moved," he must have used the imperf.

erant. Sed, inter eas moras, repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique: dein prælium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnæ adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri ejus milites primo concursu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero[1] hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme[2] Numidas in omnibus præliis pedes magis quam arma tuta sunt[3].

LXXV. Ea fuga, Jugurtha, impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam[4] pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus[5] erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen, spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnes asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere, adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modo, et alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirit ex agris

[1] *Aliquanto numero*, "a good many," opposed to *paucorum*.

[2] *Ferme:* a more ancient form than *fere*. Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vii. 5.

[3] *Tuta sunt*, "protected:" the partic. of *tuor*, or *tueor*. But some MSS. read here *tutata*, the form which has been restored in *Jugur.* 52; Liv. x.37; Plin. *H. N.* vii. procem; and which should probably be read here.

[4] *Thala.* Supposed by Mannert to be the Telepte of the Itinerarium Antonini, a place on the northern edge of the desert which lies between Numidia and the lesser Syrtis and lacus Tritonis. Shaw identifies it with the modern Ferreanah.

[5] *Multus pueritiæ cultus*, "great provision for bringing up his children;" i.e. the women, slaves, attendants, &c.

quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris[1]; eoque[2] imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitimis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquæ portarent; diem locumque, ubi præsto fuerint[3], prædicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis præceperat[4], et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior: quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant[5]. Ceterum milites, religione[6], pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati, sese dis immortalibus curæ esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate[7] munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

[1] *Domiti pecoris,* "cattle broken to service." Comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 60. efficimus domitu nostro quadrupedum vectiones.

[2] *Eoque:* adverbial. Comp. c. 47. huc...imposuit.

[3] *Ubi præsto fuerint.* This or *fuerit* is the reading of the MSS. Kritz, contrary to his usual deference to the MSS., conjectures *forent,* as the more appropriate tense. But *fuerint* implies that the people "shall be already there," "shall have already arrived," when Metellus comes up.

[4] *Ad id loci ventum quo Numidis præceperat,* i. q. *eo ventum quo Numidis convenire præceperat.*

[5] *Officia intenderant,* "had done their part zealously;" "had stretched their aid to the utmost." Comp. Tacit. *Hist.* i. 24. largitionem Otho præmiis intendebat.

[6] *Religione,* "from a superstitious feeling," i. e. believing the rain to be sent them by the gift of the gods.

[7] *Locorum asperitate,* "the wildness of the country that lay between." Comp. *Jugur.* 89, where the same phrase is explained: nam præter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus.

LXXVI. Sed rex, nihil jam infectum[1] Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, ceteris imperitantem[2], industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die, aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum, videt, vallo fossaque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia maxime idoneis[3] vineas agere, aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri[4]. Denique Romani, multo ante labore præliisque fatigati[5], post dies quadraginta,

[1] *Nihil infectum,* "nothing impossible:" the perf. part. pass. becomes equivalent to the adject. in *bilis.* So *invictus* (quasi *invincibilis*), *incorruptus, inaccessus,* &c. This usage seems to prevail in regard to words which have no adjectival form in *bilis.*

[2] *Ceteris imperitantem,* "which controls all others."

[3] *Locis ex copia maxime idoneis,* "at spots the most suitable of all that offered."

[4] *Nihil reliquum fieri,* "nothing was left undone."

[5] *Multo ante labore...fatigati,* "fatigued with much previous toil," i. e. qui antea fuit. Comp. Virg. *Æn.* i. 198. neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum. Catull. iv. 11. Ubi ille post phaselus (i. e. qui postea fuit) antea fuit Comata sylva. Comp. also Plaut. *Amphitr.* ii. 2. 138. Tu intus pateram (i. e. quæ intus est) proferto foras. Hor. *Od.* iv. 6. 3. Trojæ prope victor, i. e. qui prope fuit. Lucan, vi. 363. et tuus Œneu Pæne gener: i. e. qui pæne fuit.

quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: præda omnis ab perfugis corrupta[1]. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas adflictas, vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi, vino et epulis onerati[2], illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et, quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

LXXVII. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti præsidium præfectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios[3] fore." Nam Leptitani, jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini, ad Bestiam consulem, et postea Romam, miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata gnave[4] fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti, et missæ eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum, quos accepimus, profugos ob discordias civiles, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum situm inter duas Syr-

[1] *Corrupta*, "destroyed :" as immediately below, *igni corrumpunt.*

[2] *Onerati.* Comp. Curt. iv. 4. oneravere se vino. Justin. i. 8; Suet. *Tib.* 61.

[3] *Suam salutem, illorum socios:* asyndeton: "their own safety and the allies of Rome:" i.e. the Leptitans would risk the safety of their state, and the Romans the advantages of their alliance.

[4] *Gnave*, "sedulously." The MSS. mostly read *nave*, some *navi*. I write *gnave* for the sake of clearness.

tes[1], quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa[2], impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxima[3] terræ præalta sunt; cetera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam, ubi mare magnum[4] esse, et sævire ventis cœpit,

[1] *Inter duas Syrtes.* The greater and the lesser Syrtis, mod. the gulf of Sidra, and the gulf of Khabs: deep bays in the northern coast of Africa, in which the tide has some influence. They are obstructed with shifting sand-banks, accumulated by the currents of the outer sea, some of which are uncovered at low water. Sallust derives their name, in accordance with the ideas of the Greek geographers, from the verb *σύρειν*, "to drag," from the stones, &c. dragged along the bottom by the force of the waves. But the words *Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ* found in most MSS. seem to be a gloss taken from Isidorus the grammarian, who says, referring to this passage, *nomen a re inditum*, Syrtes Sallustius a tractu vocari dicit. Sallust describes the Syrtes as having deep water near the land, but shallow from the sand-banks farther out, like the Downs and the Yarmouth Roads. Lucan's description may give an idea of what the ancients thought of them, ix. 303.

Syrtes vel primam mundo Natura figuram
Cum daret, in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit:
(Nam neque subsedit penitus, quo stagna profundi
Acciperet, nec se subduxit ab æquore tellus,
Ambigua sed lege loci jacet invia sedes,
Æquora fracta vadis, abruptaque terra profundo,
Et post multa sonant projecti littora fluctus:
Sic male deseruit nullosque exegit in usus
Hanc partem Natura sui:) vel plenior alto
Olim Syrtis erat pelago, penitusque natabat;
Sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens
Æquora subduxit zonæ vicina perustæ,
Et nunc pontus adhuc Phœbo siccante repugnat.
Mox ubi damnosum radios admoverit ævum
Tellus Syrtis erit: nam jam brevis unda superne
Innatat, et late periturum deficit æquor.

[2] *In extrema Africa*, "at the eastern extremity, near to the frontiers of Egypt."

[3] *Quorum proxima... ;* "the water near the shore is very deep, the rest of the bay is *as it may be*, some places deep, others shallow, according to tide and wind:" i. q. alta alia, alia... vadosa. Comp. for this suppression of *alius*, Tac. *Ann.* i. 63. ut opus (alii) et alii prælium inciperent.

[4] *Mare magnum*, "stormy sea." Comp. Lucret. ii. 1. Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis. Catull. xxv. 12. velut minuta magno Deprensa navis in mari, vesaniente vento.

limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. [Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ.] Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum: leges, cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant,

LXXIX. Sed, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia[1] venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleræque Africæ[2] imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie[3]: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui fines eorum discerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit[4]. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt, "uti certo

[1] *Per Leptitanorum negotia*, "from our commerce with the people of Leptis." *Per*, like the Gr. *δία*, has sometimes the sense of "from, for, on account of." Comp. *Jugur.* 85, &c. qui per ambitionem probos sese simulavere. 99. ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias canere. *Fragm. Hist. inc.* 65. multa primo per ignobilitatem, deinde per invidiam scriptorum parum celebrata sunt.

[2] *Pleræque Africæ:* the reading of all the MSS. It is to be remarked, however, that the grammarian Arusianus cites *pleraque Africa* in illustration of the phrase *imperat hac regione.* See *Corp. Gramm.* i. 237. Lindemann.

[3] *Una specie*, "of uniform appearance;" i. e. all sand without intermission.

[4] *Habuit*, "kept." Comp. Liv. x. 2. semper eos in armis accolæ Galli habebant. *Jugur.* 94. toto die intentos bello Numidas habuerat.

die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari, retinere. Nam ubi, per loca æqualia et nuda gignentium[1], ventus coortus[2] arenam humo excitavit, ea, magna vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam[3] domi pœnas metuunt, criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed, cum Pœni aliam conditionem[4], tantummodo æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginiensibus[5] faciunt, "vel illi, quos fines populo suo peterent, ibi[6] vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros." Philæni, conditione probata, seque vitamque reipublicæ condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco

[1] *Nuda gignentium*, "devoid of vegetable life." Comp. *Jugur.* 93, of plants, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert. It is opposed to animal life in Lactant. *de Ira Dei*, i. 13. multa esse in gignentibus et in numero animalium.

[2] *Coortus:* of winds and tempests, and hence transl. of seditions, Virg. *Æn.* i. 148.

[3] *Ob rem corruptam*, "for the detriment done to their country's interest."

[4] *Aliam conditionem*, etc., "some other means of arriving at an agreement, as long as it should be a fair one."

[5] *Carthaginiensibus.* *Carthaginiensium*, the MSS. with few exceptions: but the construction seems inadmissible.

[6] *Ibi:* scil. *in illis finibus.*

Philænis fratribus aras consecravere[1]; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere[2], signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea regis Bocchi proximus magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis, ad studium sui perducit; queis adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti adversum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus, initio hujusce belli, legatos Romam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem, opportunissimam incepto bello, pauci impediverant, cæci avaritia, queis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi[3] nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quod singuli,

[1] *Aras consecravere.* For the *Philænon aræ*, see above, c. 19. Such *aræ* were not raised as sacrificial altars, but were pillars erected for monuments. Thus Alexander the Great erected twelve altars at the furthest limit of his advance into India. Curt. ix. 3. erigi duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suæ, jussit. Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. 13. quæ sit ad memoriam æternitatis ara virtutis.

[2] *Ordines habere*, "to keep their ranks," i. q. *servare, observare, agnoscere.*

[3] *Filia Bocchi.* Jugurtha had married the daughter of Bocchus. Comp. Flor. iii. 1. 17. fraudulentissimus regum fraude soceri sui in insidias deductus est. So also Plutarch, *vit. Sull.* 3; *Mar.* 10. Nevertheless, some of the best MSS. read *Boccho*, reversing the affinity.

pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures, habent; sed reges eo amplius[1]. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum[2] exercitus conveniunt: ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia[3], communes omnium hostes esse: eandem illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: queis omnia regna adversa sint: tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Metellus prædam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita, Jugurtha ratus, aut, capta urbe, operæ pretium[4] fore, aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere[5]; ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

[1] *Sed reges eo amplius*, "so much the more, inasmuch as they have greater means:" referring to *pro opibus quisque.*

[2] *Placitum*, "acceptable, agreed upon." This partic. is mostly poetical. Comp. Virg. *Æn.* iv. 38. placitone etiam pugnabis amori? But also used by Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 66. Nec tamen Cæsar placitas semel artes mutavit. The neuter, *placitum*, as a substantive, "a decree," is found in the elder Pliny.

[3] *Profunda avaritia.* Comp. Cic. *in Pison.* 21. profundæ libidines. Senec. *Epist.* 89. profunda et insatiabilis gula.

[4] *Operæ pretium*, scil. *sibi*, "worth his while." Sometimes *operæ* stands alone, sometimes *pretium.*

[5] *Bocchi pacem imminuere*, "to disturb the peace which Bocchus had hitherto kept with Rome:" *imminuere* i. q. *dissolvere.*

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti sæpe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius ratus, cognitis Mauris[1], quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere[2]. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam: nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Queis rebus supra bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lacrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vertebant[3]: alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse: multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur: nobis satis cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua, excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii, quam Mario, traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur, eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, "ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiæque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset: quamquam opibus confideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi

[1] *Cognitis Mauris*, "after reconnoitring the Moors:" i. e. "when he should have ascertained what kind of enemy the Moors would prove, what was their manner of fighting, &c."

[2] *Ex commodo pugnam facere*, "to engage at a favourable opportunity."

[3] *In superbiam vertebant*: properly, "transformed into pride," i. e. attributed to pride, instead of the real feeling.

facile[1], ceterum ægerrime desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere; deponi, cum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentes res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret." Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: "sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura[2]." Rursus imperator contra[3] postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit: ille probare, partim abnuere. Eo modo sæpe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi[4].

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe[5] consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam[6] populus[7] jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare[8]: singulos

[1] *Sumi facile.* Comp. Tacit. *Hist.* iv. 69. sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis, strenuissimi cujusque periculo geri.

[2] *Conventura*, "would be settled amicably." Things are said *convenire* when both parties agree about them: so, pax convenit. Liv. xxiv. 27. Marcellus posse rem convenire ratus.

[3] *Contra*, "in reply to."

[4] *Bellum intactum trahi*, "the war was protracted, and nothing done." *Bellum trahi*, is a common phrase; but *intactum* is added *per oxymoron;* being a contradiction in sense for the sake of emphasis. "The war was protracted and not even commenced."

[5] *Cupientissima plebe*, i. q. *optime cupiente*, "with the warmest approbation of the commonalty."

[6] *Ei provinciam Numid. populus jussit*, i. e. *decrevit*. *Jubere*, with the accus. of the object, expresses a decree of the people in the comitia. Cic. *pro Balb.* 17. responderem legem populum Rom. jussisse. Liv. xxi. 17. quod bellum populus Rom. jussisset. The person in whose interest the decree is made is in the dative.

[7] *Populus*, "the Roman people," comprehending all classes, and opposed to *plebs*, "the commonalty." *Populus* is properly the patrician class, opposed to the plebeian; but this correct usage was neglected by the best authors, and perhaps they were not fully aware of it.

[8] *Multus....instare.* Comp. the Greek phrase in Thuc. iv. 22. Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο.

modo, modo universos lædere: dictitare, "sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;" alia præterea magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia[1]. Interim, quæ bello opus erant, prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus, sociisque arcessere: præterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiæ, paucos fama cognitos[2], accire, et ambiendo[3] cogere homines emeritis stipendiis[4] secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam lætus decreverat: quia neque plebi militia volenti[5] putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum[6], aut studia vulgi, amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque, præda locupletem, victorem

[1] *Illis dolentia*, i. e. *quæ illi dolerent*, or *dolorem afferrent*, "causing pain." Comp. Ovid. *Met.* iv. 246. nil illo fertur...vidisse dolentius. So vulnus dolet, i. e. dolorem facit.

[2] *Plerosque militiæ, paucos fama cognitos*, "most of them known to him in actual service, a few only by report:" *militiæ* is the genitive of place, like *domi*, and is equivalent to *foris*, as those who serve in the army serve abroad. The double construction with the same verb is found elsewhere in Sallust: as *Catil.* xxxiii. plerique patriæ sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes. Comp. *Jugur.* 74.

[3] *Ambiendo*, "soliciting man by man, as in a canvass."

[4] *Emeritis stipendiis*, "those who had completed their term of service:" properly, "who had earned all their annual stipends for military service." At this period the legitimate term of service was twenty years for the foot and ten for the horse. The Roman legionary first received pay A. U. 347, according to Livy, iv. 59. additum deinde ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset. Niebuhr (*Hist. Rom.* ii. 438, Engl. Tr.) questions this statement, believing that pay was not given till a later period.

[5] *Plebi militia volenti.* This dat. *volenti* is a Græcism. Comp. Thuc. ii. 3; vii. 35, and other authors. It is frequently imitated in Latin, e. g. Liv. xxi. 50; Tac. *Ann.* i. 59; *Hist.* iii. 43; *Agric.* 18. See also above, *Jugur.* 4. uti militibus labor volentibus esset.

[6] *Belli usum*, i. e. *ea quæ bello usui sunt*, "the requisites of war," i. e. "men." Comp. Cic. *in Verr.* II. iv. 5. illum usum provinciæ supplere.

domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi, animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam, postquam, omnibus quæ postulaverat decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi caussa simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse; deinde per ignaviam et superbiam ætatem agere. Sed mihi contra ea videtur[1]; nam, quo universa respublica pluris est, quam consulatus aut prætura, eo majore cura illam administrari, quam hæc peti, debere[2]. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et ærario parcere; cogere ad militiam eos[3] quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantes, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est[4]. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ, quas necesse est et virtute et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma sunt[5]. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me

[1] *Mihi contra ea videtur*, "to me the opposite course seems the best."

[2] *Administrari...debere.* Governed by *videtur* understood from the preceding clause.

[3] *Eos.* There is peculiar force in the pronoun: "such men as you would not wish to offend."

[4] *Opinione...asperius est*, "is more difficult than people think."

[5] *Nam alia infirma sunt*: "for my other supports are feeble:" supply *tutamina mea.*

conversa esse: æquos bonosque favere: quippe bene facta mea reipublicæ procedunt[1]: nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint[2]. Ita ad hoc ætatis a pueritia fui, ut omnes labores, pericula, consueta habeam[3]. Quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus[4] temperare[5], qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere[6] jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrime tulit. Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis[7] ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium, mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ[8] ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii[9]: scilicet, ut in tanta re, ignarus

[1] *Procedunt*, i. q. *bene cedunt*, "succeed." Comp. Cic. *de Orat.* i. 27. nonnunquam summis oratoribus non satis ex sententia eventum dicendi procedere.

[2] *Illi frustra sint*, "they may be disappointed." Comp. above, c. 7, 14, and the phrase which follows, *ita... fui*.

[3] *Consueta habeam*, "am constantly accustomed to:" the continuative force of *habeo*.

[4] *In potestatibus*, "in the enjoyment of magistracies."

[5] *Temperare*, scil. *sibi*.

[6] *Bene facere*, scil. *reipublicæ*, i.e. *bene mereri de republ.* "the honourable discharge of my duties to the state has become natural to me through habit."

[7] *Ex illo globo nobilitatis*, "of that band of nobles:" *globus*, a military term, implying a small number in dense array, used here invidiously of the nobility.

[8] *Veteris prosapiæ*, "of ancient lineage:" *prosapia*, and *prosapies*, from *supo* (hence *dissipo*) to scatter, spread: figurative from the spreading branches of a tree. The word was antique in Cicero's time (ut utamur veteri verbo: Cic. *de Univ.* 11) and obsolete in that of Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* i. 6).

[9] *Nullius stipendii*, "who have gained no pay," i.e. "have seen no service."

omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui[1]. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare jussistis[2], is imperatorem alium quærat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum, et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint; homines[3] præposteri. Nam gerere, quam fieri[4], tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi[5]: quæ illi literis[6], ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate[7], facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existimo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum[8]. Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiæ quæri posset, mene, an illos, ex se gigni

[1] *Sui*, added emphasis gratia, "a duty which should be his own, and no one's else."

[2] *Imperare jussistis.* Some MSS. read *imperatorem*, which is more emphatic, and may be compared with Liv. i. 17. quem populus regem jussisset. i. 22; iii. 30.

[3] *Præposteri homines: præp.* in its proper sense, from *præ* and *post*, "who put *the cart before the horse:*" *homines*, contemptuously.

[4] *Gerere quam fieri*, etc., i.e. *gerere magistratum*, "the discharge of magistracy," succeeds in point of time to *creari magist.*, "being appointed a magistrate:" whereas shewing oneself fit for the appointment ought properly to precede the being appointed.

[5] *Partim vidi, alia egomet gessi.* Comp. Virg. *Æn.* ii. 5. quæque ipse miserrima vidi, Et quorum pars magna fui.

[6] *Illi literis.* Comp. Cic. *pro Font.* 15. C. Marius, P. Didius, Q. Catulus ...non literis homines ad rei militaris scientiam, sed rebus gestis ac victoriis eruditi.

[7] *Vos existimate:* emphatic: "judge ye for yourselves."

[8] *Fortiss. quemque generosiss.* Comp. Juvenal, viii. 20. nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.

maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optimos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiæ, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores[1] contemnant; ita hos petunt[2], quasi honeste vixerint. Næ illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter exspectant, ignaviæ voluptatem, et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in senatu, verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant. Quod contra est: nam, quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen[3] est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum, id quod multo præclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed, in

[1] *Vestros honores*, "the honours you have to bestow."

[2] *Ita hos petunt*, "so seek the same," i. e. your honours.

[3] *Posteris lumen.* Many MSS. read *quasi lumen;* and this particle is frequently inserted, to soften the harshness of a metaphor: as Cic. *de Off.* ii. 9. honestum decorumque quasi perlucet ex iis quas commemoravi virtutibus.

maximo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret[1]. Nam me quidem, ex animi mei sententia[2], nulla oratio lædere potest: quippe vera, necesse est, bene prædicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum pœnitendum sit. Non possum fidei caussa[3] imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum, ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras[4], alia militaria dona; præterea, cicatrices adverso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quæsivi. Non sunt composita verba mea; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici[5]: parum placebat eas dicere, quippe quæ ad

[1] *In conscientiam duceret*, "construe into a consciousness of guilt." Comp above, ch. 82. in superbiam vertebant. 92. in virtutem trahebantur.

[2] *Ex animi mei sententia.* The pronoun, omitted in many MSS. seems to be required in solemn asseverations of this kind. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* iii. 29. quod *ex animi tui* sententia juraris, sicut *verbis concipitur* more nostro, id non facere perjurium est. And A. Gell. iv. 20. verba ita erant concepta ut tu ex animi tui sententia uxorem habes.

[3] *Fidei causa*, scil. *dandæ*, "in confirmation of what I say."

[4] *Hastas, vexillum, phaleras.* The *hasta* was presented to deserving soldiers (Festus in voc.), and was called *pura*, as having no iron head. The *vexillum* was a streamer at the end of a spear: *phaleræ*, trappings for horses: the *alia dona militaria* were *torques* and *catellæ*, chains, *armillæ*, bracelets, *fibulæ*, clasps, *coronæ*, crowns or chaplets of various kinds. Most of these are enumerated among the trophies of Siccius Dentatus, by A. Gellius, ii. 11.

[5] *Neque literas Græcas didici.* Plutarch, who has made much use of this

virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa, multo optima reipublicæ, doctus sum; hostem ferire, præsidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et æstatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor: neque illos arcte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile[1] imperium. Namque, cum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem[2], esse. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciendo seque remque publicam celebravere: queis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; et omnes honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit[3]. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere,

oration in describing the character of Marius, repeats that he despised the manners and literature of the Greeks on the account here mentioned, that they did not save that people from conquest by the Romans, and imputes to this morose pride much of the barbarity of his actions. *ὥσπερ οὖν Ξενοκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ σκυθρωποτερῷ δοκοῦντι τὸ ἦθος εἶναι, πολλάκις εἰώθει λέγειν ὁ Πλάτων· ὦ μακάριε Ξενόκρατες θύε ταῖς χάρισιν. οὕτως εἴ τις ἔπεισε Μάριον θύειν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς Μούσαις καὶ χάρισιν, οὐκ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάταις στρατηγίαις καὶ πολιτείαις ἀμορφοτάτην ἐπέθηκε κορωνίδα, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἀώρου, καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἀπαρηγορήτων, εἰς ὠμότατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον γῆρας ἐξοκείλας.* Plut. *in Mar.* 2. The Pseudo-Sallust, *Ep. ad Cæs. de Ordin. Republ.* has the same idea: Quippe qui domi libertatem suam per inertiam amiserint, censesne eorum præceptis imperium haberi posse?

[1] *Civile*, "befitting a citizen," moderate and humane; the condescension of superiors to their inferiors. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 72. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi.

[2] *Dominum non imperatorem.* Martial says of the emperor Trajan: Hic non est dominus sed imperator, Sed justissimus omnium senator.

[3] *Repetere.* Used of exacting payment of a debt. *Jugur.* 96. Sulla æs mutuum ab nullo repetere. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 39; *ad Liv.* xi. 28, etc.

divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem[1] ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum, quam villicum, habeo[2]; quæ mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo, et ex aliis sanctis viris, ita accepi, munditias[3] mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriæ, quam divitiarum: arma, non supellectilem, decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum æstimant, id semper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimæ parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem[4], et alia talia, relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita, injustissime, luxuria et ignavia, pessimæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil

[1] *Histrionem*, "a buffoon or dancer for the amusement of guests at table." Livy derives the word from the Tuscan *hister*. vii. 2. Quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum. For the introduction of this species of luxury, and of artists in cookery, &c. see Livy, xxxix. 6. Comp. Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 13.

[2] *Habeo*, i. e. in this place, *possideo.* The *villicus*, or bailiff, was a prædial slave of rough manners and without education.

[3] *Munditias*, "elegancies." Comp. Liv. xxxiv. 7. munditiæ et ornatus et cultus, hæc fœminarum insignia sunt: hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt majores nostri.

[4] *Sudorem, pulverem.* The Romans living in a warm climate generally describe active endurance as the power of bearing heat and dust, while we northerns more commonly speak of endurance of cold. On the other hand, we call a lazy drone a chimney-corner fellow; the Romans described him as *umbratilis*, one who sought the shade for coolness and repose.

obficiunt; reipublicæ innoxiæ cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium, de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam, quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam felix. Nam magna pars avaritia, aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris ætas[1], adnitimini mecum, et capessite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia, metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio, consultor idem, et socius periculi, vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, dis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus: quæ si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnes bonos reipublicæ subvenire decebat[2]. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus: neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habita, Marius

[1] *Militaris ætas*, "age for military service," i. e. from 17 to 46.

[2] *Decebat.* The imperf. indic. follows the subjunc. implying the certainty of the event which depends upon the antecedent condition. "Even though all these things were doubtful or distant, yet undoubtedly it is always fitting that good men should succour the commonwealth." Comp. Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* 17. quod si Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat diligendus atque mittendus.

postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus, naves onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus[1], sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum[2], alii per ambitionem consulis, memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque[3] erat: et homini[4] potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curæ[5], quippe quæ nulla sunt, et omnia cum[6] pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

[1] *Non more majorum, neque ex classibus.* Two particulars are here mentioned in which Marius forsook the ancient institution: instead of convening the people in the Campus Martius, and calling them by their centuries for enlistment, he allowed them to offer themselves indiscriminately—uti cujusque lubido erat—for service: and instead of selecting the soldiers exclusively from the five superior classes, arranged according to their census, he enlisted most of his men from the sixth or lowest of all, the members of which, having no fortunes, were only polled, *capite censi.* This practice was continued in later times, and the Roman soldiers, instead of having a stake and interest in the institutions of the commonwealth, became for the most part needy men, who served only for pay and plunder. But the concentration of property in fewer hands, and the diminution of the class of small proprietors, rendered this course of proceeding imperative. Comp. Plutarch, *Mar.* c. 9.

[2] *Inopia bonorum*, "for want of good men," i. e. men of substance.

[3] *Auctus*, "advanced," i. e. in power, fame, or honours.

[4] *Et homini*, etc. A new clause, not dependent upon the preceding *quod*, but expressing the writer's own judgment on Marius's motives.

[5] *Neque sua curæ*, i. q. *et sua non curæ.*

[6] *Cum* signifies "on condition."

LXXXVII. Sed consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et præda[1] onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur: prælia multa, ceterum levia alia, aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnæ adesse: videre fugientes capi, occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum; armis libertatem, patriam, parentesque, et alia omnia, tegi; gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, diversi[2] in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostes invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros[3].

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea[4], Romam profectus, contra spem suam, lætissimis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere: cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra, esset: explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias antevenire: nihil apud se remis-

So Cic. *Tusc.* i. 49. multis videmus optabiles mortes fuisse cum gloria.

[1] *Præda*, "objects for booty."

[2] *Diversi*, "in different directions."

[3] *Futuros.* For this pregnant combination of the adverb with the verb, compare *Jugur.* 7. frustra erat. 14. tutius essem: and other places noticed above. *Laxius* refers to their discipline, *licentius* to their behaviour.

[4] *Metellus interea*, etc. Metellus received the honour of a triumph and the surname of Numidicus. Ovid. *Fast.* i. 595. Hunc Numidæ faciunt, illum Messana superbum. At a later period he was driven into exile by the influence of a tribune named Saturninus, and once more restored to his country, notwithstanding the opposition of Marius.

sum, neque apud illos tutum, pati: Itaque et Gætulos, et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris prædam agentes, sæpe adgressus in itinere[1] fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat[2]. Quæ postquam gloriosa modo, neque belli patrandi[3], cognovit, statuit urbes, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus, et adversum se[4] opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum sæpe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus[5], parum exploratum.

LXXXIX. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando, avertere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existimans, Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum[6]. Sed, ubi illum procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum, accepit, majora et magis aspera adgredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa[7],

[1] *In itinere*, "on their way."

[2] *Armis exuerat*, "had stripped of his arms," i. e. had put to flight and compelled to cast away his arms. Comp. Liv. xxii. 21; Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 6.

[3] *Belli patrandi*, "such as would bring the war to a close." Comp. Liv. xxxix. 16. judicabant nihil æque dissolvendæ religionis esse.

[4] *Pro hostibus et adversus se*, "advantageous to the enemy and disadvantageous to himself."

[5] *Solitus.* Supp. *fecerit*, implied in *simulaverit*. Comp. *Jugur.* 113. ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus: supp. *promiserit*, from the preceding clause.

[6] *In manus venturum*, "would engage." Tac. *Hist.* iv. 71. ut ventum in manus deturbati præcipitantur.

[7] *Capsa.* A city lying between the Bagrada and the lacus Tritonis. Strabo calls it the treasury (γαζοφυλάκιον) of Jugurtha.

cujus conditor Hercules Libys[1] memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes[2], levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur: muniti adversum hostes non mœnibus modo, et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, præter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior: ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis, quam alia re, accenditur. Ejus potiendi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una[3] modo, atque ea intra oppidum, jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, et in omni Africa, quæ procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, neque salem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant; cibus illis adversum famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque luxuriæ, erat.

XC. Igitur consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dis fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio

[1] *Hercules Libys.* The Libyan Hercules is the same as the Tyrian and Phœnician, Herod. ii. 44: the legendary discoverer and conqueror of Africa in the Carthaginian mythology.

[2] *Immunes*, "free from contributions."

[3] *Una*, scil. *aqua*, "spring of water:" *jugi*, "unfailing." Dœderlein, *Synon.* ii. 13, 31, derives it from *diu*. *Jugis* differs from *perennis*: the one is "unfailing," the other "ever-flowing," from *per* and *amnis*. Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 654. *Amne* perenne latens *Anna* Perenna vocor.

satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis, quam arvo[1], student, et, quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam æstatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris[2], ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; se prædabundum[3] post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occulto, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas, æqualiter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat[4]: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, quum[5] ad flumen ventum est, maxima vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites

[1] *Pabulo...quam arvo*, "use pasture more than arable land."

[2] *Ad oppidum Laris.* This is probably the old acc. plur. for *Lares*. The same place seems to be mentioned by St Augustine under the form *Laribus*.

[3] *Prædabundum*, "in the course of a predatory expedition."

[4] *Distribuerat ... curabat.* The plusq. perf. marks the idea in the mind of the writer, that the distribution had been already made, when the making of the skins into bags began: as if he had said, ex coriis pecorum, quæ quotidie distribuerat, utres uti fierent curabat.

[5] *Sexto die, quum* etc.: i. q. *sexto die, ex quo*, "the sixth day after arriving." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* x. 23. collegam triduo, quum has dabam literas, exspectabam. xv. 14. multi anni sunt quum ille in ære meo est. The same might be expressed by *post sextum diem quam.*

cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem proxima facit: dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissime potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies cœpit[1], et Numidæ, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissimos pedites, cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere, jubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites prædari sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognovere: res trepidæ[2], metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidæ puberes interfecti: alii omnes venum dati: præda militibus divisa. Id facinus, contra jus belli, non avaritia neque scelere[3] consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio neque metu coërcitum[4].

[1] *Ubi dies cœpit*, "at break of day." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 25. simul cœptus dies.

[2] *Res trepidæ*, "the confusion of their affairs," or, "into which they were thrown." Comp. Virg. *Æn.* i. 563. Res dura et regni novitas, "the difficulty of my position."

[3] *Non avaritia neque scelere*: "neither from lust of plunder, nor from a wanton disregard of law and usage." *Scelus* is the breach of a positive law, human or divine.

[4] *Coercitum*, i. e. *quod coerceri potest*, "to be controlled." See on ch. 76, and comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 30. delatores genus hominum pœnis quidem nunquam satis coercitum.

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit, magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia non bene consulta modo, verum etiam casu data, in virtutem trahebantur[1]: milites, modesto imperio habiti simul, et locupletes, ad cœlum ferre: Numidæ magis, quam mortalem, timere: postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere, illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi[2]. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura, deserta propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, ad aliam rem adgreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem[3]. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat, inter ceteram planitiem[4] mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa

[1] *Trahebantur.* This word signifying an *improper, illegitimate* application, refers properly to the latter clause, and only by *zeugma* to the former.

[2] *Deorum nutu...portendi*, "revealed to him by divine decree." The whole passage seems to be imitated by Q. Curtius, iii. jam primum nihil sine divina ope aggredi videbatur; nam cum esset præsto ubique fortuna, temeritas in gloriam cesserat.

[3] *Non eadem asperitate...haud secus difficilem*, "not so perilous, but equally difficult." *Asper* fig. fierce, violent, destructive; in which sense it is often joined with *bellum, fata*, &c.

[4] *Inter ceteram planitiem*, i. q. *in cetera planitie.* Comp. c. 88. inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum.

vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti, et fons aquæ; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus: iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque præcisum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agitabantur: nam, cum eæ paullum processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare[1]: optimus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumtis, anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua sæpe prospere usus fuerat. Quæ cum multos dies, noctes, æstuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod aversum præliantibus[2] erat, animum advertit inter saxa repentes cochleas: quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures, peteret, studio legendi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii, cupido difficilia faciendi animum vertit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat[3] inter saxa,

[1] *Administrare.* Subaud. *operi.*

[2] *Aversum præliantibus*, "on the opposite side to where they were fighting."

[3] *Coaluerat.* The prep. is merely intensive, as in Suet. *Aug.* 92. palmam in compluvium...transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curavit. Ovid, *Art. Am.* ii. 649. Dum novus in viridi coalescit cortice ramus. And fig. Tac. *Hist.* i. 21. dum Galbæ auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset: "had not yet grown to maturity."

paullulum modo prona, dein flexa, atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis, nisus, Ligus castelli planitiem perscribit[1]: quod cuncti Numidæ intenti præliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum, ex præsentibus misit: quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum, numero quinque, quam velocissimos delegit, et cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnesque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIV. Sed, ubi ex præcepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi, qui ascensuri erant[2], prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverunt, capite atque pedibus nudis,

[1] *Castelli planitiem perscribit.* Draws a plan of the fortification as it lay flat beneath him. By *perscribit* is generally understood, "reconnoitres," "examines," i.q. *perlustrat.* But authority for such a sense is wanting, and I see no difficulty in supposing that the man drew some rude plan. But the passage is probably corrupt: *in castelli planitiem pervenit*, is the reading of Kritz, with the authority of a few MSS.

[2] *Qui ascensuri erant.* The reading of many MSS. seems preferable to the common reading *qui centuriis præerant:* it is not the four centurions only, but the whole body, nine in number, who are spoken of.

uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta: verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul, et offensa[1] quo levius streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa, et si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati facilius escenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus, singulos præ se inermes mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quæ dubia nisu[2] videbantur, potissimus tentare[3], ac, sæpius eadem adscendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens[4], ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur, diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, adversum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero, cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ, sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim, omnibus, Romanis hos-

[1] *Offensa.* Comp. Liv. vii. 36. miles offenso scuto præbuit sonitum.

[2] *Dubia nisu,* i. e. *nisui.* Comp. Prop. iv. 4. 81. Mons erat adscensu dubius.

[3] *Potissimus tentare,* "he tried first of all."

[4] *Digrediens,* "stepping aside," i. e. to leave room for the others to ascend.

tibusque, prælio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute, certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere[1]: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat; postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere[2], avidi gloriæ, certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic, forte correcta, Marii temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. Ceterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sylla, quæstor, cum magno equitatu in castra venit; quos[3] uti ex Latio[4] et a sociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Syllæ rebus dicturi sumus; et L. Sisenna[5], optime et diligentissime omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familia prope jam exstincta[6] majorum ignavia, litteris Græcis atque

[1] *Signa canere,* sub. *cornicines* as the subject.

[2] *Vadere,* "to march or stride." Lucan, ii. in fin. Vadis adhuc ingens populis comitantibus exul.

[3] *Quos,* referring to *equites,* understood in *equitatus.*

[4] *Ex Latio,* i. e. from the *socii Latini nominis,* such Italian towns as had the Latin franchise.

[5] *L. Sisenna.* This historian, one of the Cornelian gens, and partial perhaps on that account to Sulla, wrote a history of the social war and the civil wars of Sulla and Marius. He was born about 118 B. C., and was prætor in 78, the year in which Sulla died. Cicero speaks of him, *de Leg.* i. 2, *Brut.* 76, and esteemed him superior as an historian to his predecessors. About 150 fragments of his great work are preserved, but very short and unconnected.

[6] *Familia prope jam extincta.* So

Latinis juxta atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior, otio luxurioso esse[1]; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod[2] de uxore[3] potuit honestius consuli: facundus, callidus, et amicitia facilis[4]; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum, ac maxime pecuniæ, largitor. Atque, felicissimo[5]

Velleius, ii. 17, says of him; L. Corn. Sulla natus familia nobili, sextus a Cornelio Rufino, qui bello Pyrrhi inter celeberrimos fuerat duces, quum familiæ ejus claritudo intermissa esset, diu ita se gessit, ut nullam petendi consulatum cogitationem habere videretur. Sallust speaks of the *familia* of the Sullæ, a branch of the Rufini. The Cornelii were a numerous and distinguished *gens* in early times, and were subdivided into several *familiæ*, e.g. patrician: Arvina, Blasio, Cethegus, Cinna, Cossus, Dolabella, Lentulus, Maluginensis, Mammula, Merenda, Merula, Rufinus, Scapula, Scipio, Sisenna, Sulla. Of these the Lentuli and Scipios had various *agnomens*, distinguishing individuals. The plebeian Cornelii were Galli and Balbi. Sulla introduced a vast number of his own clients and dependents into the Cornelian gens, and under the empire it was undoubtedly the most extensive of all the Roman houses.

[1] *Otio luxurioso esse*, sub. *cœpit*, i. q. *erat*, "debauched in his intervals of leisure." The gross debauchery of Sulla is painted in strong colours by Plutarch in his life. He died of a loathsome disease brought on doubtless by intemperance.

[2] *Nisi quod.* Complete the sentence thus: *nisi huic laudi repugnat quod.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 33. ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate...indomitum animum in bonum trahebat, i. e. quæ res non poterat non damnosa fieri nisi salubrem temperationem hoc attulit quod &c. xiv. 14. notos quoque equites operas arenæ promittere subegit donis ingentibus (supply, qui propter turpem pecuniæ cupidinem detestabiles videntur) nisi (scil. eo excusandi sunt) quod merces ab eo qui jubere potest vim necessitatis affert. Kritz.

[3] *De uxore.* Plutarch mentions his marrying as many as five wives, which seems, notwithstanding the facility of divorce and laxity in such matters among the Romans, to have been considered a scandalous excess. He repudiated Cælia, expelled Metella from his house on her death-bed, and degraded himself by his last marriage with Valeria. See Plut. *Sull.* 35.

[4] *Amicitia facilis*, "ready in proffering his friendship."

[5] *Felicissimo.* Sulla obtained the title of Felix, for his uniform success, which gave rise to many ironical allusions. Lucan, ii. 221, speaking of the proscriptions, Hisne Salus rerum, Felix his Sulla vocari, His meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere campo?

omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior, esset: nam, postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat, disserere.

XCVI. Igitur[1] Sulla, ut supra dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus[2] factus est. Ad hoc, milites benigne adpellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse, dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantius, quam æs mutuum, reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent[3]: joca[4] atque seria cum humillimis agere: in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adesse: neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni, famam lædere: tantummodo neque consilio, neque manu, priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Queis rebus, brevi, Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam, aliosque locos munitos et sibi utiles, simul et magnam pecuniam, amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret: prælii faciendi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunc-

[1] *Igitur*, after a digression, "To return, then."

[2] *In paucis tempestatibus*, i. e. *intra parvum tempus.*

[3] *Ut illi quam plurimi deberent: illi* for *sibi*: a negligence not unfrequent: Comp. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 7. quibus autem hæc sunt inter eos communia: *pro Rosc. Am.* 34; *pro Sest.* 24; Corn. Nepos, *Hannib.* 11. At Eumenes...nihil reperit nisi quod ad irridendum eum pertineret.

[4] *Joca:* only this form used in the time of Cicero: afterwards *joci, jocos.*

tari accepit, et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere[1]; rursus, uti antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus, Bocchus cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium, jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt: rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento[2], quia locorum scientes erant; contra, Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem. Igitur, simul[3] consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere[4], denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum, accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes, trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant,

[1] *Belli atque pacis rationes trahere,* "was slowly weighing the arguments for war or peace:" *trahere* implies the delay and hesitation of his counsels.

[2] *Nullo impedimento,* dat. cas. Priscian, vi. 7. 36. vetustissimi solent omnium in *-ius* terminantium genitivum, etiam in *-i* genitivum et in *-o* dativum proferre. Cic. *pro Mur.* 12. (if the reading is correct) ei quoque carmen compositum est, quum ceteris rebus absurdum, tum vero nullo usui utrisque. Cæs. *B. C.* ii. 7. nullo usui. *B. G.* vi. 13. nullo concilio adhibetur. But it may be the ablative, as in Cic. *ad Att.* x. 18. majore impedimento fuerunt.

[3] *Simul—et:* no sooner—than. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 25. simul cœptus dies, et aderant in semisomnos.

[4] *Aut instrui,* aut *sarc. colligere:* "before the army was arrayed for fighting, or had (even) put the baggage together," (as usual before action).

aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis, quam prælio[1], similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti, cædere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra adversos acerrime pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures, et undique circumfusi: denique Romani, veteres[2] [novique], et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius, aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit: sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis, quam familiarissimis, paraverat, vagari passim: ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostes, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere: manu consulere[3] militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se[4] rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex

[1] *Latrocinio...prælio.* This opposition is frequently employed. Comp. Liv. xxix. 6. latrociniis magis quam justo bello gerebatur res. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 10.

[2] *Veteres* [*novique*]. I put the last word in brackets as suspicious, though found in all the MSS., except one. It is explained, "the Romans being veterans and recruits, and on that account skilful in warfare," i. e. because they were not all recruits. Sallust had used a similar combination, ch. 87. sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere et virtus omnium æqualis facta: from which *novique* may have foisted into this passage.

[3] *Manu consulere,* etc., "since he could not aid his men as a general by giving orders, he aided them as a private soldier, by taking part in the combat personally."

[4] *Pro se,* "in their own favour."

copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, colles duos propinquos inter se occupat: quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia, magna parte editus et præceps, pauca munimenta quærebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus[1] hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos pleno gradu[2] in collem subducit. Ita reges loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein, crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerent, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis, ex tenebris et editioribus locis, facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere[3]: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, et paullo ante somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item

[1] *Neque minus*, i. q. *non minus: neque* properly is equivalent to *et non;* but the copula is out of place here.

[2] *Pleno gradu:* "in quick time." Veget. i. 9. militari gradu xx. millia passuum horis quinque, duntaxat æstivis, conficienda sunt. *Pleno* autem *gradu*, qui citatior est, xxiv. millia peragenda sunt. Quicquid addideris jam *cursus* est, cujus spatium non potest definiri.

[3] *P r vigilias...canere.* The night was divided into four watches, measured by the clepsydra or waterclock, and the changes were indicated by the sound of the trumpet and horn. Veget. iii. 8. a tubicine omnes vigiliæ committuntur, et finitis horis a cornicine revocantur: per vigilias, "for the watches," i. e. on account of. Comp. for this use of *per*, c. 79 and 85.

cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines, simul omnes signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam, poterant: ita cunctos, strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque capta: pluresque eo prælio, quam omnibus superioribus, interemti: nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna proficiscitur; quæ, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat: neque tamen secors victoria, aut insolens, factus; sed pariter, atque in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine[1] incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos[2], in sinistra A. Manlius, cum funditoribus et sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum, curabat: primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minime cari[3] et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant: simul consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnes adesse; laudare, increpare merentes. Ipse armatus, intentusque, item[4] milites cogebat: neque secus atque iter

[1] *Quadrato agmine*, "in a hollow square," i. e. arranged for defence in front, flanks and rear, with the baggage in the middle. The figure however was not a regular square, but an oblong.

[2] *Dextimos*, "the extreme right." Priscian, iii. 3. 19, speaks both of *dextimus* and *sinistimus*.

[3] *Minime cari:* "whose lives were least valued."

[4] *Item*, i. q. *etiam*, "compelled his men also to hold themselves prepared."

facere, castra munire, excubitum in portas cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere: præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum, quæ[1] imperavisset, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius, illo et aliis temporibus Jugurthini belli, pudore magis, quam malo[2], exercitum coërcebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant: pars, quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quæ ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen[3] res publica, pariter ac sævissimo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta, undique simul speculatores citi[4] sese ostendunt: qua re hostes adesse intelligitur. Sed, quia diversi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant; consul, incertus quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus æque[5] aliquos ab tergo

[1] *Non tam diffidentia futurum quæ:* i. q. *fore quæ.* Comp. A. Gell. i. 7, who shews by many instances that the fut. in -rus was used by old writers as an infinitive, without regard to concord in number or gender: e. g. Laberius in Gemellis: non putavi hoc eam facturum. This unusual construction has perplexed the transcribers, and occasioned great variations in the MSS.

[2] *Malo;* i. e. *pœna.* Comp. Terent. *Andr.* i. 1. 44. malo coactus qui suum officium facit. Liv. ii. 54. malo domandam tribunitiam potestatem.

[3] *Nisi tamen:* i. q. sed tamen, with a parenthetic clause: "But, however this may be, he conducted the public affairs as well as if he had exercised the harshest discipline." *Rem publicam bene gerere;* i. q. *rebus gestis bonum publicum augere.*

[4] *Citi;* i. e. *citato cursu,* "at full speed."

[5] *Æque;* i. e. *æquo modo paratis,*

hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis, ipse aliique Mauros invadunt: ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius ejus, adduxerat, neque[1] in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat; quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites[2] convertit: ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare: paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum;" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei[3], quam fide nuncii, terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere[4],

"He calculated that some of the whole number, having all an equal chance, would arrive."

[1] *Quos...neque;* i. q. *quos...et non.* Comp. Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 2. finem definiebas id esse quo omnia, quæ recte fierent, referrentur, neque id ipsum usquam referretur: i. e. quodque ipsum nusquam referretur. Terent. *Adelph.* i. 2. 4. quem neque pudet quidquam nec metuit quemquam: i. e. quique non metuit.

[2] *Numida...ad pedites.* Jugurtha turns to the troops which Volux had just brought up. He addresses them in Latin, in order that the Romans with whom they were engaged might hear what he said: for it was the Romans rather than his own men that he wished to deceive. *Milites,* which follows, is "the Roman soldiers."

[3] *Atrocitate rei;* i. e. by the mere thought how shocking such a disaster would be, without considering the credibility of the assertor.

[4] *Barbari animos tollere.* What Jugurtha said in Latin may have been interpreted to the Numidians, or his mere action may have encouraged them, still more the evident consternation of the Romans.

et in perculsos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis, quos adversum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile[1] campis patentibus: sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adflicti: ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. Postea loci consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum, quam[2] iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duo quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: velle de se, et de populi Romani commodo, cum iis disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; ingenium aut aversum uti flecterent, aut cupidum

[1] *Tum spectaculum horribile*, etc. This passage is closely copied by Tacitus, *Agric.* 37. tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum, etc.

[2] *Post diem quintum quam.* An anomalous construction for *die quinto post quam.*

pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus: "Rex Bocche[1], magna nobis lætitia est, cum te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quam bellum, malles: neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissimum persequi[2]. Ad hoc, populo Romano jam a principio [inopi[3]] melius visum, amicos, quam servos, quærere: tutius rati volentibus, quam coactis, imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia; primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensæ minimum, gratia par[4], ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod parentes[5] abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium, satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum Fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse[6] te et vim et

[1] *Rex Bocche.* This commencement of a speech with the name of the person addressed, and the prefix of "king," neither of which are usual, imply peculiar respectfulness.

[2] *Persequi:* more properly *persequendi;* but the infin. follows the idea of *non cogeres*, implied in *demeres necessitudinem.*

[3] *Inopi.* I enclose this word in brackets. If it agree with *populo*, it must mean that the Romans had continued feeble from the first: if with *principio*, it should be written *inope*, and transposed, *ab inope principio.* But it is supported by the MSS. generally. *Imperi*, written perhaps *impi*, is a plausible conjecture.

[4] *Offensæ minimum, gratia par*, "little opportunity for quarrelling, and as much favour and estimation, as if we were your near neighbours."

[5] *Parentes*, "subjects." See note on *Jugur.* 3.

[6] *Cui scilicet placuisse:* "whom it had pleased." The infin. governed

gratiam nostram experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, ut cœpisti perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam, bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo[1] verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed regnum tutatum, arma cepisse: nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Romanos expulerit[2], jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse; præterea, missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo[3] Jugurtha perfugas omnes præsidium[4] imposuerat.

by *scilicet*, i.e. *scire licet:* as *Jugur.* 113. quæ scilicet ... occulta pectoris patefecisse. *Fr. Hist.* i. 19. at scilicet eos...gratiam ab eo peperisse.

[1] *Pro delicto suo,* "in excuse for his fault."

[2] *Unde vi Jugurtham expulerit.* Many MSS. and Edd. read *expulerat.* Bocchus had not expelled Jugurtha from any part of his dominions; but this latter reading would make the author assert the fact. *Expulerit* may imply that Bocchus made the assertion, which was a false one. Translate: "A part of Numidia, says he, from which he pretends to have expelled Jugurtha, had become his own by the right of conquest." Ciacconius conjectured, *si inde Romanos expulerit:* and other corrections have been proposed: but there seems to be no satisfactory way of explaining the passage.

[3] *Turrim ... quo.* Comp. c. 66. Vagenses, quo Metellus præsidium imposuerat.

[4] *Præsidium:* according to the

Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis venerant[1], seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque deligit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam, legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi, licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde, itinere a Gætulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore[2] ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus[3], ut meriti erant[4], sed adcurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio[5] multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens[6]: dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quæstori man-

construction, merely in apposition to *perfugas;* but with a pregnant sense, i. e. "so as to be a garrison." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3. Augustus subsidia dominationi Cl. Marcellum ... et M. Agrippam extulit. Liv. i. 8. Romulus locum...asylum aperuit.

[1] *Venerant;* i. q. *evenerant.* Comp. Liv. i. 7. priori Remo augurium venisse fertur.

[2] *Sine decore,* "without the ensigns of their office as ambassadors."

[3] *Pro vanis hostibus,* "as enemies trying to impose upon him with the false pretence of being accredited on an embassy."

[4] *Ut meriti erant,* "as they might reasonably have expected," coming as they did without credentials.

[5] *Largitio,* "the giving of largess;" i. e. treating with a view to corruption.

[6] *Munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens;* i. e. *bene volens:* "no man was deemed liberal, but he was supposed to be to the same extent gracious and kind:" i. e. in those days people were so simple that they conceived, if a man gave his money freely, it must be from natural kindliness of disposition, having no suspicion of any ulterior object.

data Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quæ aut utilia aut benevolentiæ[1] esse credebant, oratione extollunt: dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum, verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

CIV. Marius postquam, confecto, quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam ab Utica venire jubet, item L. Bellienum prætorem, præterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule: interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ et plerisque placuere[2]: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ, fluxæ et mobiles, semper in adversa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quæstor stipendium[3] in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus, cum cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæ legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem, et Jugurthæ scelere lapsum, deprecati sunt[4], amicitiam et fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur: "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et

[1] *Aut utilia aut benevolentiæ*, "either advantageous to the Romans, or likely to conciliate their favour." *Benevolentiæ*, the dative: implying *object* or *intention*.

[2] *Ea ... placuere;* i. e. *utrumque placuit*, both *potestatem eundi dari*, and *inducias concedi*.

[3] *Stipendium*: "the pay for the soldiers from the public treasury."

[4] *Deprecati sunt;* in a pregnant sense: i. q. *postquam deprecantes dixerunt*: "they urged in excuse."

injuriæ memor esse solet; ceterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam[1] facit: fœdus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

CV. Queis rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium[2]: præterea sagittarii, et cohors Peligna[3] cum velitaribus armis[4], itineris properandi caussa: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit; qui, temere et effuse euntes, Sullæ aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant[5]. Igitur sese quisque expedire[6], arma atque tela tentare, intendere[7]: timor

[1] *Delicti gratiam*, "pardon for his fault." Comp. *Catil.* 52. qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem. *Fr. Hist.* iii. 34. post reditum eorum quibus senatus belli Lepidani gratiam fecerat.

[2] *Funditorum Balearium*, "slingers from the Baleares," the islands Majorca, Minorca and Iviça. The Romans employed the services of these people as skirmishers. Comp. Cæs. *Bel. Gal.* ii. 7; Flor. iii. 8; Liv. xxviii. 37, etc. Their name was supposed to be derived from the Greek *βάλλειν*.

[3] *Cohors Peligna;* i. e. a cohort of auxiliaries from the country of the Peligni in the centre of Italy. These auxiliaries are mentioned also in Livy, xxv. 14; xliv. 40.

[4] *Cum velitaribus armis:* accoutred as *velites*, or light skirmishers, with a sword and a bundle of javelins for attack, and a broad shield, *parma*, without heavy armour, for defence.

[5] *Efficiebant:* governing *metum* directly, and *numerum* by zeugma: "made their number to appear greater than it really was, and caused fear on the part of their enemies." With *metum efficiebant* comp. *Catil.* 42. plus timoris quam periculi efficerant.

[6] *Sese...expedire:* "to lay aside the *impedimenta;*" "to make ready for battle."

[7] *Intendere:* prop. of stringing bows: here generally "to prepare their weapons."

aliquantus sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et adversum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum præmissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CVI. Volux adveniens quæstorem adpellat: "Se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et præsidio, missum." Deinde cum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto vultu ad Sullam adcurrit: "sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse:" simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat, "se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertæ, ac forsitan post paullo morbo interituræ, vitæ parceret." Ceterum, ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat: ac statim milites cœnatos esse[1], in castris ignes quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi, jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nunciant, "Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ante eos[2] consedisse." Quod postquam auditum, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere,

[1] *Cœnatos esse:* sub. *jubet*, "to have done their supper:" the perf. implies the immediateness with which the order was to be executed.

[2] *Ante eos:* "in front of them," i.e. of the Roman forces. As the *equites Mauri* themselves formed part of these forces we should rather expect the reflexive pron. *se*.

qui dicerent, manu vindicandum[1], neque apud illum[2] tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gererent: sæpe antea paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et cæcum corpus[3] ad hostes vertere." Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire[4] jubet. Ille lacrymans orare, "ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthæ, cui, videlicet speculanti, iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus[5] ex patre suo penderent, credere, illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel præmissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla

[1] *Manu vindicandum*, "they should avenge themselves with arms."

[2] *Apud illum*, "with him:" *apud* implying close local connexion. Comp. *Jugur.* 24. si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissæ.

[3] *Cæcum corpus*, "the blind part of the body," i. e. "the back." The expression is taken from Xenophon, *Cyrop.* iii. 3. 45. μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.

[4] *Ex castris abire.* Comp. 35. Massiva profugus ex castris abierat. 68. Metellus...e conspectu abit.

[5] *Haberet ... ejus: illum* referring to Jugurtha: *patre suo*, his (Volux's) father, Bocchus; *ipse filius*, Volux himself.

iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata[1], ac statim profecti: quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat: præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator[2], et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: præterea Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, ceterum materno genere impar; pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque, quem Bocchus, fidum esse Romanis multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, "paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus, ipse deligeret: consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere[3]: neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret quo res communis licentius gereretur[4]; nam ab insidiis ejus

[1] *Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata*, "This course, considering there was no better under the circumstances, was approved." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 2. nonnihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum: *de Senect.* 4. multæ erant in Q. Fabio, ut in homine Romano, literæ.

[2] *Orator;* i. q. *legatus*, as frequently in Livy. Comp. i. 15; ii. 13; v. 15; xxxii. 17; xxxvii. 24, &c. Virg. *Æn.* vii. 153; viii. 505; xi. 100. 331.

[3] *Consulta... integra habere*, "that he had preserved inviolate the covenant existing between them."

[4] *Neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret quo res communis licentius gereretur: licentius*, i. q. *liberius*, "that Sulla should not, through distrust of Jugurtha's envoy, Aspar, who was to be present, refrain from a free discussion with Dabar about the affairs between himself and Bocchus." If this is the meaning, we should expect *quin* or *ne* instead of *quo*. But it would be difficult to connect this sense with what follows. Kritz's conjecture, *remoto* after *quo*, gives the contrary sense, and a much better one. Another conjectural reading is, *n. J. l. p.: cautum esse quo*, etc. In any case the passage seems corrupt.

aliter caveri nequivisse." Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis Punica fide[1], quam ob ea quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse[2], multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam, traderet: lubidinem adversum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit: "pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissimis præsentibus:" simul edocet, quæ sibi responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi[3], dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum, agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti præceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum: deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi in-

[1] *Punica fide*, "with Carthaginian bad faith," a proverbial expression applied to the Moors and Numidians as well as to the actual Carthaginians. Comp. Lucan, iv. 736. Ut Libycas metuat fraudes infectaque semper Punica bella dolis. For the proverbial bad faith attributed by the Romans to the Carthaginians, see Livy, xxi. 4; xxv. 39; xlii. 47; Flor. ii. 2. 6. Val. Max. vii. 4. 4. etc. Plautus has the phrase, Pœnis Pœnior. On the other hand, *Attica fides* was an expression for good faith, Vell. ii. 23. adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit ut semper, et in omni re, quicquid sincera fide ageretur, id Romani Attica fieri prædicarent. Ausonius, *Epist.* x. 47, contrasts *Pœna* with *Græca fides*. Comp. Erasm. *Adag.* viii. 27, 28.

[2] *Attinuisse*, "kept in play, amused or engaged." *Attinere* is commonly used in a moral sense. So Sallust, *Frag. Hist.* i. 19. ne nos in solitudine attineas. But by Tacitus frequently for forcible detention: e.g. attineri in custodia.

[3] *Congressi*, i.e. Sulla and Bocchus, who afterwards retire to their respective camps, *in sua castra*.

terpretes adhibentur: prætcrea Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir, et ex sententia[1] ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit:

CX. "Numquam ego ratus sum[2] fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra, et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercle, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum[3], quod ceteri dolere solent, ego lætor; fuerit mihi [pretium[4]] eguisse aliquando amicitiæ tuæ, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra[5] erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego æstimo, regem armis, quam munificentia vinci, minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui[6]: fines meos adversum armatos armis tutatus sum.

[1] *Ex sententia*, "in the confidence of both," therefore such a person as either would wish to have present. Comp. Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 2. 96. nec quenquam fideliorem...Nec qui magis sit servus ex sententia.

[2] *Nunquam ego ratus sum*, "I never *should have* thought." For the English conjunctive the Latin idiom here employs the indicative: Comp. above, 11. quod verbum altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Cic. *de Off.* i. 23. ingenii magni est, non committere ut aliquando dicendum sit, non putaram, "I should not have thought it."

[3] *Id imminutum*, "the loss of this."

[4] *Pretium.* This word seems, from the great fluctuation of MSS., to be a gloss: *fuerit mihi*, "let it be mine."

[5] *Integra*, scil. *gratia*, "entire undiminished;" as a score, no part of which has been repaid and obliterated.

[6] *Neque feci, neque factum volui*, "I neither made nor wished made."

Id omitto[1], quando vobis ita placet: gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar[2], neque Jugurtham id intrare[2] sinam. Præterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, "quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros[3]: faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam sua, retulisse videretur: id adeo in promtu esse, quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, ultro adventuram." Rex primo negitare[4]: "adfinitatem, cognationem, præterea fœdus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus, popularium animos averteret, queis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant." Denique, sæpius fatigatus, lenitur et ex voluntate Sullæ, omnia se facturum, promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem[5], cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quæ utilia

[1] *Id omitto*, "that I forego."

[2] *Egrediar, intrare.* These verbs refer to the idea of boundaries implied in the mention of the river. Statius, *Sylv.* i. 3. 110. Finem Nestoreæ precor egrediare senectæ.

[3] *Non in gratiam habituros*, "As for his promises, they would not regard them as a means to deserve their favour, since they had already got the upper hand in war." The accus. has a *pregnant sense.* About half the MSS. read *in gratia*, with the same meaning. See below, note on *in potestatem habuisset*, c. 112.

[4] *Negitare*, "repeatedly denied," urging various excuses in succession, as follows.

[5] *Ad simulandam pacem*, "for making pretended overtures of peace."

visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum, adpellat: dicitque "sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus[1] bellum poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ venit. Deinde, ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum fidere[2]: sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse[3]. Ceterum, si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in colloquium veniretur[4], ibique sibi Sullam traderet: cum talem virum in potestate haberet[5], fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani fœdus fieret: neque hominem[6] nobi-

[1] *Conditionibus,* "on mutual terms," as opposed to *arbitrio*, "at the conqueror's pleasure." Comp. Vell. ii. 109. Maroboduus finitimos omnes aut bello domuit aut conditionibus sui juris fecit. Liv. xxxv. 42.

[2] *Fidere.* Many MSS. read *confidere;* but the one is properly said of persons, the other of things. Kritz.

[3] *Pacem conventam frustra fuisse.* Refer *conv.* to *pacem*, not to *frustra*, i. q. *pacem quæ convenisset.* So *pax convenit*, above, c. 38. *Frustra*, adv. for partic. *frustratam*, or *irritam*, as frequently above.

[4] *Ut una ab omnibus...veniretur,* "that they should all meet together," scil. Jugurtha, Bocchus, and Sulla.

[5] *In potestatem habuisset.* The best MSS. read thus, not *potestate.* With *esse* and *habere* this construction is not uncommon. Comp. Cic. *pro leg. Man.* 12. quum vestros portus in prædonum fuisse potestatem sciatis. Liv. ii. 14. quæ ne in potestatem quidem pop. Rom. esset. Cæs. *B. C.* i. 25. quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare in potestatem haberet.

[6] *Neque hominem*, etc., "and that a man of noble birth would not be left in the hands of the enemy, *who had fallen into them* through no ill-behaviour of his own, but in the service of the republic."

lem, non sua ignavia, sed ob rempublicam, in hostium potestate, relictum iri."

CXIII. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum dolo, an vere, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ. Postea, tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum adpellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni. Sed nocte ea, quæ proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim, immutata voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, vultu corporis[1] pariter, atque animo, varius: quæ scilicet[2], tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam accersiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quæstore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussa, procedit in tumulum, facillimum visu[3] insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati:

[1] *Vultu corporis,* "in external appearance:" the addition of *corporis*, makes the opposition to *animo* more precise.

[2] *Quæ scilicet,* "which things of themselves," namely, the external signs of his irresolution, the calling and then dismissing of his people, and the changes of his countenance.

[3] *Facillimum visu*, "convenient for keeping a look-out."

Jugurtha Sullæ vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

CXIV. Per idem tempus[1] advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Cæpione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum; quo metu[2] Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique, et inde[3] ad nostram memoriam Romani, sic habuere[4]; alia omnia virtuti suæ prona[5] esse; cum Gallis pro salute[6], non pro gloria, certare. Sed, postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam, nunciatum est, Marius consul absens[7]

[1] *Per idem tempus.* The capture of Jugurtha took place A. U. 648, B. C. 106. Cæpio and the consul Manlius were defeated in Gaul in the following year, by the Cimbri, who are here confounded with the Gauls, being properly Germans. So Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13. C. Marius influentes in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit. Flor. iii. 3; Diodor. v. 32; Appian, *Illyr.* 4. For the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones, see Florus, iii. 3, and particularly Plutarch, in his life of Marius, who defeated and destroyed them in the two great battles of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ.

[2] *Quo metu,* "in consternation at which defeat."

[3] *Illique, et inde usque,* &c., "both the Romans of that day, and since, down to my own times." This harsh and ungrammatical sentence Kritz would emend conjecturally, by reading *ibique* (i. q. *et tum*), for *illique;* "both then and since."

[4] *Sic habuere,* "have been convinced of this." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 4. sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse qui me amet quin &c.

[5] *Prona,* "easy to be subdued," i. q. *facilia,* with which it is joined, c. 80. id facilius proniusque fuit.

[6] *Pro salute,* etc. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 12. Cum Cimbris bellum gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret.

[7] *Absens.* This was contrary to the law, which required that a candidate for the consulship should appear in the forum on three successive nundinæ, and canvass the voters. A general who waited for a triumph might not enter the city, and accordingly was in strictness prevented from suing for the consulship. To be released from this law was considered a great honour and favour. Julius Cæsar claimed a triumph for his victories in Spain as prætor, A. U. 694, but he was eager to obtain the consulship, and was compelled to forego the coveted honour in order to acquire the more valuable dignity. Marius was elected consul a third, fourth, and fifth time also in his absence, being engaged in the war with the Cimbri. He was consul seven times in all.

factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia; isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit[1]. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

[1] *Triumphavit.* Marius triumphed over Jugurtha on the first of January, 650, the commencement of his second consulship. Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led before his car, and carried off to the Mamertine prison, under the Capitoline hills, where he was thrown into the lowest dungeon and left to starve. Plut. *Mar.* 12. Captive generals thus led in triumph were often put to death immediately afterwards, as Vercingetorix by Cæsar, generally strangled. But in other cases they were allowed to live. Marius was considered vainglorious for entering the senate-house in his triumphal robe. Liv. *Epit.* lxvii.

SALLUSTIUS

CATILINA
ET
JUGURTHA